NEW TIMES

November 26 – December 2, 1991

Female assasins: profiles of three terrorists

47

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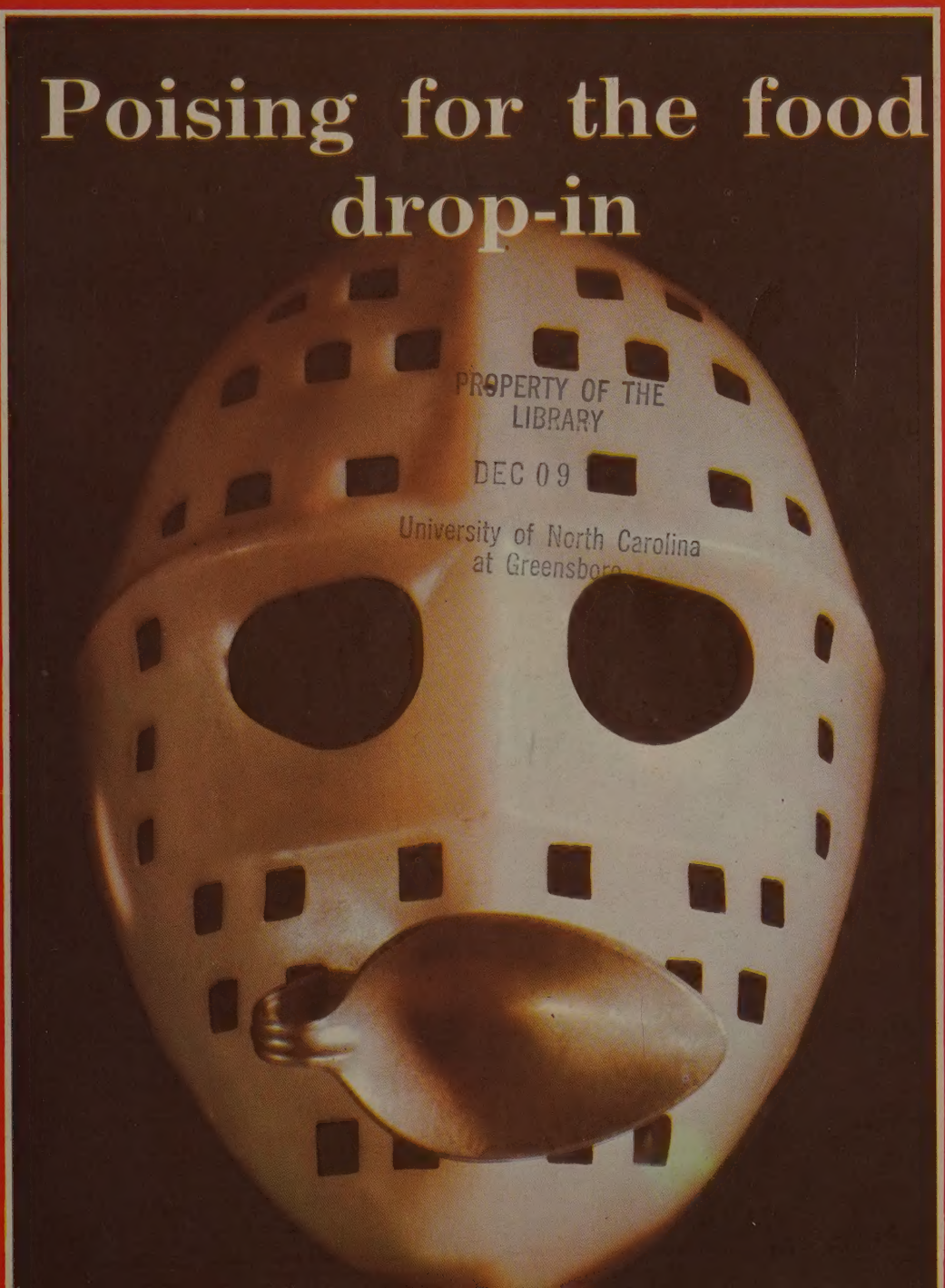
Poising for the food drop-in



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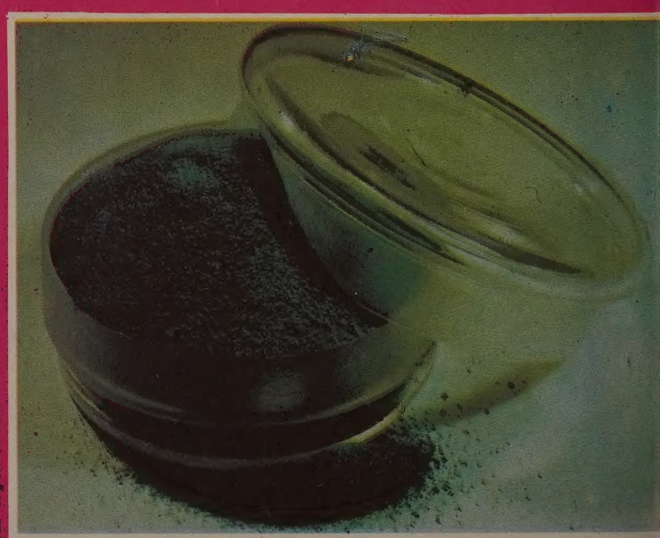

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A SOVIET WEEKLY

NEW TIMES

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Founded 1945

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Our address: Pushkin Square, Moscow, GSP, 103782, USSR. Telephones: 229-88-72, 209-07-67

NEW TIMES

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We have correspondents in
Belgrade, Berlin, Bonn, Bucharest, Delhi, London, Mexico, New York, Prague, Pretoria, Rome, Sofia, Stockholm, Tokyo, Vienna, Warsaw

Founders:
***New Times* journalists**
Published in Russian, English and German
Our address: Pushkin Square, Moscow, GSP, 103782, USSR
Telephones: 229-88-72, 209-07-67
Telex: 411164a newt SU, 411164b newt SU
Telefax: 200-42-23, 200-41-92
Advertising Department: НОВОЕ ВРЕМЯ DECIGN
Telephones: 209-92-82, 209-76-52, 209-95-71
Printed by Moskovskaya Pravda Press.
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From our mailbag

■ I fully agree with the article by Yakov Borovoi "The Jewish dilemma" (*NT* No.41,1991).

I personally, in the presence of D. Vasilyev, spoke against his *Pamyat* (Memory) society. In addition, two years ago I wrote the "Memory against Memory" pamphlet which, unfortunately, has not yet been published.

But I strongly object to one particular word Borovoi used in his article. He writes about me the following: "One day Platon's mother presented him with a pair of mittens. It turned out later that the mittens had belonged to a Jewish child killed by Nazis." The word "presented" is obviously out of place here; moreover, it sounds like blasphemy. It should be explained that in 1942 my mother was to sort out personal belongings of Jews killed by Nazis. Once I came to see her, and she managed somehow to slip a pair of mittens into my hands. Only much later did I understand that these mittens belonged to a Jewish boy the same age as me... That's why the word "present" is absolutely inappropriate. On other points I fully agree with the article.

Platon Afanasyev, member of the Union of Russian Nobility Descendants
Moscow, USS

■ I would like to express my thanks to Andrei Stepanov, rector of the Moscow State Institute of International Relations (MSIIR), who kindly responded to my letter (*NT* No.28,1991). At the same time, I'd like to clarify my stand.

Perestroika going on in our society calls for the need to interpret our past anew and honestly tell the public about all the negative phenomena, that took place. Unfortunately, neither the present rector of the MSIIR, nor his predecessors said anything in their interviews about how, on certain occasions, students are admitted to the Institute or how they are assigned after their graduation from it. By the way, when I spoke to the Institute's graduates, quite a few of them told me that they had to accept jobs having nothing to do with their profession.

I think it is very expedient that the Institute should no longer be subordinated to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Take, for example, our law and economic institutes and various university faculties which are dependent on the State Committee for Education – not on the Ministry of Justice or the Ministry of Finance. But this dependence is a mere formality.

I am also very concerned about the following fact: not all young people wishing to study in this prestigious institute have equal opportunities to enter it. A number of privileges granted once to working young men and women have been abolished. But how can a young man working at a plant successfully compete with some special linguistic school graduate or with boys and girls who studied at Soviet schools abroad? And would any Foreign Ministry official give up a very tempting idea of helping his offspring enter the Institute, which officially belongs to the Ministry and which offers young men bright prospects?

Recently I have come across an announcement about the establishment of an Association of MSIIR Graduates. I would like to

Vlasovites, NTS members and war veterans

■ During the war I served in the Vlasov Army and fought against Communists.

What does it matter that Germans provided us with weapons? Germans never killed people for no apparent reason. And in concentration camps they killed only Communists. It served them right. Likewise, neither Germans nor Vlasovites killed the civilian population – those rumours were spread by Communists. I also do not believe in newsreels about Nazi camps. I think that in real fact it was Stalinist camps that were filmed. It's high time to rehabilitate Hitler who was a fighter against Communists. He wished us good and wanted us to be free. After I had been taken prisoner by the Red Army, I spent 15 years in the Stalinist camps. So it would be only fair if we, former Vlasovites, also got special privileges and food rations (the same as war veterans have). We would also like to buy things in the Veteran shop. All our war veterans must be called defenders of Stalinism and dictatorship rather than defenders of the Motherland. And all the privileges granted to war veterans ought to be given instead to the members of the Russian Liberation Army, i.e., those who fought Communists. I would gladly do it nowadays, but I am too old.

Dmitry Sergeyevich
Tashkent

■ Boris Miller's article "The adventures of the Popular Labour Alliance (NTS) in Russia" (*NT* No.39, 1991) carries two photographs, one of Alexander Kutepov and the other of Evgeny Miller. The text under the first photo reads that Alexander Kutepov headed the NTS after Vrangel.

General Kutepov had never been either the NTS's leader, or even a member. Nor was General Vrangel ever a member of the NTS, as he died long before its inception. General Miller likewise had nothing to do with the organization. All of them headed the Russian Military Alliance (ROVS by its Russian initials), which was set up at the end of 1923 – the beginning of 1924 by Vrangel. By the way, this fact is mentioned by Boris Miller in his article.

The text of the second photo reads that General Miller was kidnapped and killed by unknown people. This also is not quite true. The general was kidnapped by the Soviet intelligence in Paris in September 1937, brought to Moscow, secretly tried and sentenced to death. By the way, the circumstances of his kidnapping were not so long ago described by Leonid Mlechin in your magazine!

Nor can I agree with the author's statement that the NTS was the ROVS's successor. The latter actually was set up as a military organization, which united servicemen of the former Russian army and where special attention was paid to military and other special training of

What could Yegor Ligachev retort to Tatiana Ivanova

Handcuffs for the *New Times* staff

A young workingman haunting the threshold of the Moscow State Institute of International Relations

remind you, however, that very many of them, especially those who graduated from the Institute during the so-called stagnation period, entered it using their personal connections. Surely, they should have some pangs of conscience.

In 1973 a plane exploded near Krasnoyarsk, as a result of which over 100 people died. It turned out that this was done by a young man who for several years running tried to enter the Moscow Institute of International Relations, but for one reason or other he had been denied the right to take exams. I think that the blame for the Krasnoyarsk plane tragedy can be put in part on the Institute's tactless and inconsiderate examiners, who did not let the persistent applicant take exams or recommend that he apply to some other similar institute.

Vyacheslav Malakhin,
lawyer

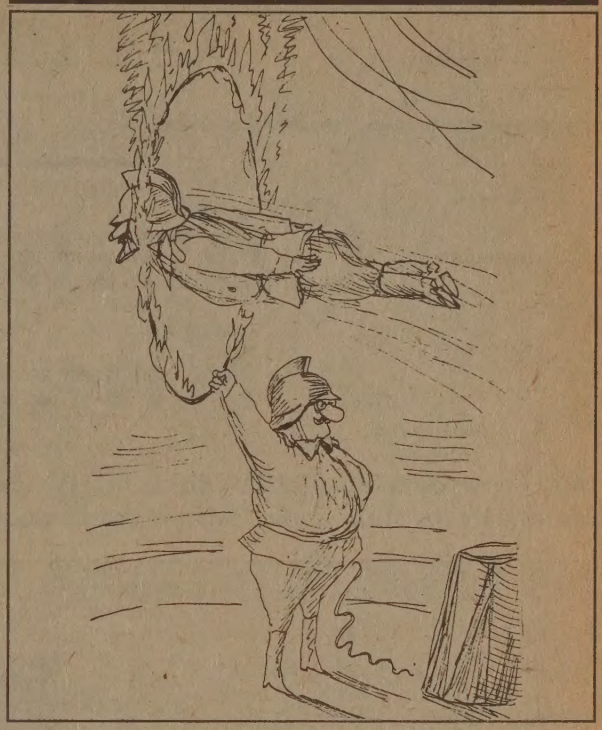
■ I have been subscribing to your magazine for over 20 years now. All the issues have always been delivered on time. But for the past several months no *New Times* issues have been brought to me. What's the matter? Are post services to blame or is it because your magazine is a bit of a "nuisance" to somebody? Maybe it was even a sort of warning before the August events? I think it is necessary to carry out an investigation. The last issue I read was No.26. But I want to read about all the turbulent events and political changes that took place later, I want to know whether my favourite journalists such as Soloveichik, Ivanova and Ionin are well. I am sure that these journalists would have been handcuffed, had not the putsch failed. But despite such misfortunes, I have again subscribed to your magazine.

A. Paitullin,
Bashkiria, USSR

■ I have always read your magazine with great joy. Each article gives me strength, though the things NT journalists write about are not always rosy and promising. But what unites them is their sincerity.

Prior to August 22, after Tatiana Ivanova's just another "impertinence," I was afraid for her and kept thinking, though not without admiration: "Something should be done, she must be warned – maybe a telegram should be sent to her..." But in a little while I got another issue with another of her "daring" articles, and I let myself be placated for a time. I had my last "shock" after having read Dmitry Zgersky's article, where he intelligently and elegantly dispels the myths of "Zionist murderers,"

THE WAY I SEE IT



Drawing by Victor Bogorad

and materials by Simon Soloveichik – this sad, wise man. Do you remember how Tatiana Ivanova criticized our System? What could Yegor Ligachev say, for example, when she declared: "such well-groomed men do not ride the bus"!

Thank you very much, my dear sages!

R. Kuznetsova
Kazakhstan

■ I have been a regular reader of *New Times* for over 30 years. But the magazine now is not what it used to be, especially during the past six months. I do not approve either of free-and-easy articles or colloquial and even vulgar expressions which are now plentiful in your magazine. I also do not like how many journalists are now so embittered or too categorical in their thinking. I won't give concrete names because it is not journalists who are to blame. What worries me is the new trend easily discernible in your magazine. I would call it the loss of intelligence.

Valery Chabanov,
Ashkhabad, Turkmenia

***Compiled by* Tatiana Chernova**

ROVS members. The organization had very little in common with philosophical trends, while the NTS programme was based on Russian philosophers' works. Monarchist sentiments popular with Russian officers were also widerspread amongst ROVS members, whereas there were very few supporters of the monarchist idea among NTS members.

But there are some features common to both organizations, for example, their collaboration with the Nazis. No matter what Boris Miller means by "cooperation," it is clear that the NTS members, who came to the occupied territories together with the Germans, worked there not as "bakers who baked bread." According to the author, the NTS units operating on the occupied territories were similar to such neutral organizations as the Red Cross Society. Boris Miller writes that "the NTS automatically expelled from its ranks those who collaborated with the Germans." So it appears that NTS was absolutely independent of the Nazis. Why then did the Germands allow the NTS to set up its branches on their territory without any hindrances? Obviously, it was possible only because the aims and tasks of the NTS did not contradict the Germans' aspirations. It would be very naive to deny this.

To call the population living on the occupied territories to fight the existing state system (be it bad or good) means to work in the interests of the occupants, no matter what noble aims were pursued: by the way, not only Bolsheviks fought against the Nazis, but all Russian people. I will not mention Boris Miller's passage about "a very tempting offer" to collaborate with the Germans. I would rather admire the patriotism of Princess Obolenskaya, who was guillotined by the Nazis, or B. Vilde and other heroes of the European Resistance movement. I can even understand the stand taken by General Denikin: though he never sympathized with communism, he as a true Russian patriot publicly declared that the Red Army would rout the enemy and then fight against the Bolsheviks. Mind – first rout the enemy.

It's high time to reevaluate many facts of our history. But we should avoid interpreting history in our own interests. Otherwise we will again face what we are trying to escape.

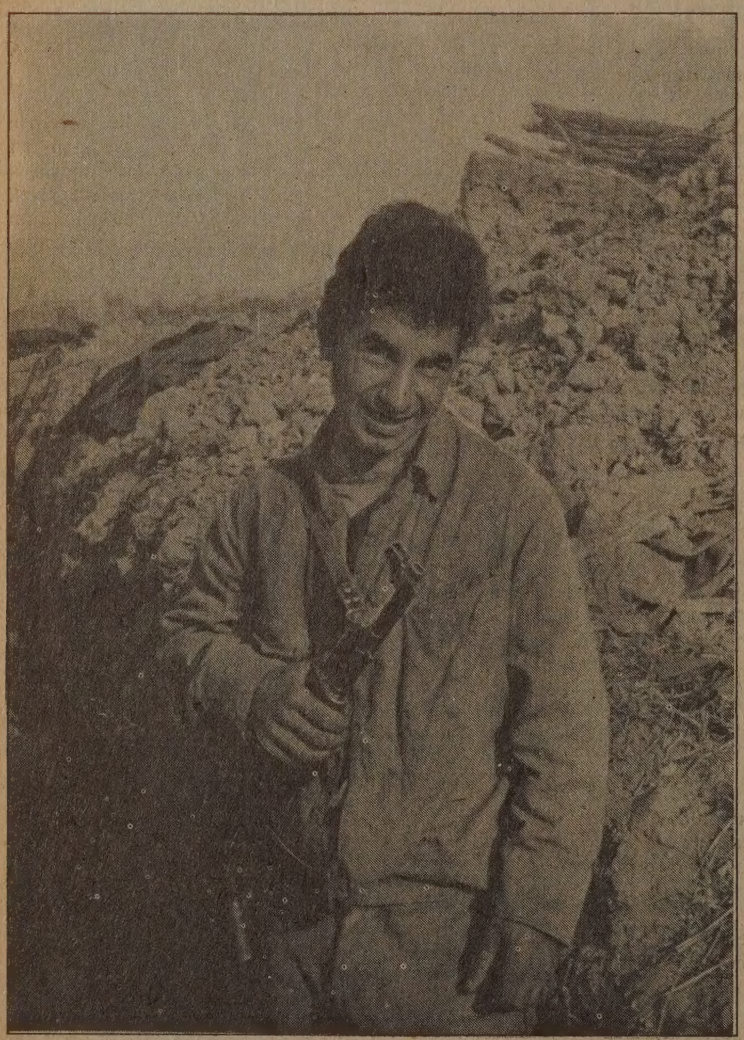
O. Kurushin

Moscow, USSR

EMERGENCY

Commander Shaghen

NT correspondent Nikolai Kalinkin meets the man who is hunted by the entire police force of Azerbaijan



A 14-year old "avenger" from Karachinar

If you come to Armenia and mention a friend called Levon you should specify the family name as well, otherwise people will think you are speaking about Levon Ter-Petrosyan, the newly-elected president of the republic.

The most well-known name in Nagorny Karabakh is Shaghen, and if someone says "I've come straight from Shaghen," people will think that the person has just arrived from the Shaumyanovsk District where Shaghen's local self-defence force is operating...

I first heard about Shaghen soon after the massive deportation of Armenians from the village of Getasheb earlier this year. it was only recently that I discovered that the man has a family name as well – Megryan.

I heard a lot of very contraversial rumours about Shaghen who was described by different people as "a gang leader" or "popular hero." The first description usually came from the official conservative publications close to the Soviet Defence and Interior Ministries, and that is why it could not be considered objective. The other one sounded too good to be unconditionally accepted. I used to think that it was impossible to meet the man personally so as to form my own impression. I was sure that Shaghen Megryan was as elusive as the Getashen Avengers whom he headed. I had not ever thought that Commander Shaghen would be the first man I would meet in the Shaumyanovsk District. He did not look in any way different from the rest of the local people. I was slow to realize that the man in front of me was the Shaghen I wanted so much to meet. Actually, we met a day after I suffered a concussion in Karachinar, and I was still somewhat slow to think...

A powerful man of medium height, Shaghen would look very much like Vice-President Rutskoi of Russia if not his dark sun-tan. In fact, Shaghen's position in the district is no lower than Rutskoi's position in Russia: he is the Chairman of the Executive Committee of the District Soviet, i.e. the district chief executive. He also heads the district self-defence force. Shaghen, 39, is married, has three children and had graduated from the Yerevan University. I asked him if he was sorry about being unable to use his university training. "I am not the only one who can't," Shaghen replied.

The second chance to meet Shaghen came in Moscow after I accidentally learned about his stay in the capital. Before we actually met, I had to conduct endless negotiations over the phone, meet his representative and body guards. The whole thing was really impressive...

It was over a day ago that I found out that you were in Moscow, but it has been too difficult to locate you. Why so much secrecy?

I am the ultimate target of the Azerbaijani repressive apparat. Azerbaijani OMQN troopers seize, beat up and kill **even innocent** people and it's easy to imagine what they would gladly do to me if they got me.

I heard that there was an attempt on your life shortly before I left Karachinar. What actually happened?

Thanks God, they failed to kill me. It happened in the neutral zone during negotiations. An officer, a representative of the Defence Ministry, shielded me with his own body thus saving my life. He showed me the tree where the sniper was sitting. The Defence Ministry representatives insited that all snipers be removed before the negotiations rusumed...

A Karachinar school after artillery shelling

Some representatives of the central authorities believe that you are heading an illegal armed group which is to be disarmed, and its members are to be arrested and tried.

In this case all 20,000 residents of the Shaumyanovsk District's 11 Armenian villages are to be arrested and tried. People are starting to understand the situation we are in, however. The dialogue has begun, which I think is a great step forward. We have already been received by Arkady Volsky and Chief of the General Staff Lobov – they both had worked in Karabakh and are familiar with the problem. We have also met State Secretary Burbulis.

Has there been any mutual understanding?

I do not think they really want to look into our problems at the moment. Everybody wants to ignore the Shaumyanovsk District. However, this district is the nerve of Nagorny Karabakh and the Karabakh problem as a whole cannot be resolved if the problem of the Shaumyanovsk District is not resolved first.

Armenians have lived in the area since time immemorial. The district is a part of the historical territory of Karabakh. Our land was trnasferred to Azerbaijan out of the considerations of "revolutionary expedience" and nobody ever bothered to ask the local people what they thought about the whole thing. Today the people of the district are sort of suspended in midair. You can't find the Shaumyanovsk District on the map of Azerbaijan, or Armenia, or the Nagorny Karabach Autonomous Region. It ia only a part of the Karabakh Republic which is not recognized by anyone...

The statements to the effect that there are no peaceful people in our villages, only fighters, depraved the local people of the right to defend themselves, of the right to live there. We continue to have no state protection of our rights and interests. Neither the central government nor Azerbaijan seem to be inclined to recognize our rights.

Do you think the situation in the Shaumyanovsk District is more dramatic than in Nagorny Karabakh?

Armenians living in Nagorny Karabakh can be protected by the federal troops, but no troops can be deployed in our Shaumyanovsk District because the July 4 presidential decree lifted the state of emercency there. As a result a real war is being waged in the district bringing about a heavy loss of human life and destruction of a tremendous scope. Naturally, we want to become a part of Nagorny Karabakh again.

You were shot at during negotiations, as you said. This means that some negotiations are being conducted. Has there been any progress?

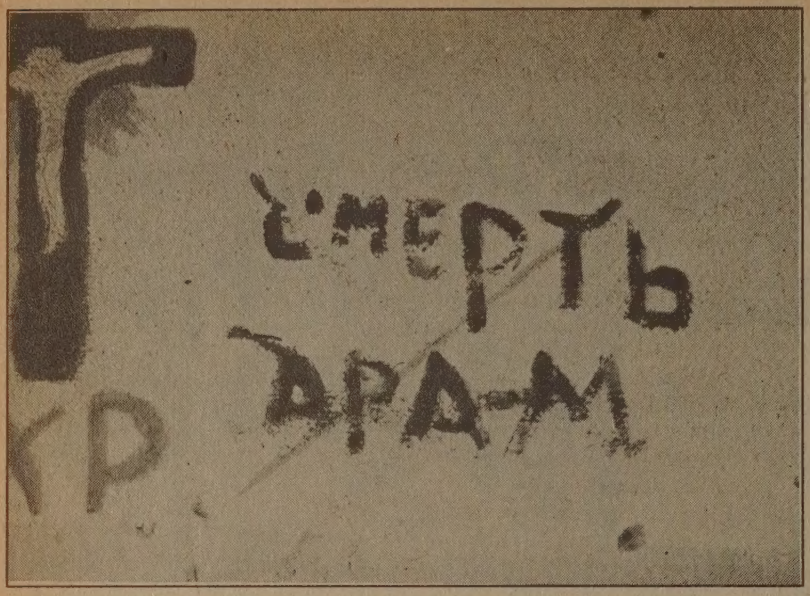
Our fate cannot be decided at this level. Let us assume the impossible and imagine that we have managed to agree on a ceasefire. The very next day Baku will replace its representative and the fighting will resume.

Has local negotiations really meant something, Armenians and Azerbaijanis of local villages would have lived in peace by now. Such matters are not to be resolved in Karachinar. Now the confrontation has reached a level when politicians who "speak on behalf of the people" simply cannot seek peace: mutual hatred has already gone out of control. People are blinded by the propaganda.

During the negotiations we told the Azerbaijani side that no one had the right to take our land away from us. We told them: "Look, three years ago, you did not say that these lands were yours." The answer was silence. The Azerbaijani side even goes as far as to declare all our churches and hachkars (traditional Armenian crosses made of stone) Azerbaijani and to demand that all Armenians vacate the district.

We demanded that Azerbaijanis vacate the occupied villages of Erkech, Buzlukh and Manashid, but the answer was that those villages were Azerbaijani ones and that Armenians were never to return there... It is difficult to expect such talks to bring any results. However, we cannot resolve the conflict by armed force either – we can only defend ourselves with weapons. And negotiations are only possible if both sides demonstrate goodwill.

The Azerbaijani leadership refuses to understand that the strength of its armed forces is not the only decisive factor and that Armenian homes are not the only ones that get destroyed in fighting. No person living in Karachinar would ever dream of destroying a neighbour's home for nothing. But when a war is going on, you don't care about whether you will damage the house dislodging the enemy from there. You have seen how hard the Azerbaijani village of Shefek was damaged. We do not have artillery,



"Death to Armenians" – this graffito was left on the wall of a damaged school in Shaumyanovsk where Soviet "internationalist" troopers had stayed

only the two guns we took over from the Azerbaijanis. We do not have much ammunition, though, and have to keep those guns in the reserve for the time being. All destructions in Shefek resulted from the use of small arms and numerous shoot-outs, not from purposeful artillery shelling to which the Azerbaijani side resorts to destroy Armenian villages.

How are self-defence groups formed?

We do not have mandatory conscription. Our groups are formed of volunteers. There are some career officers and veterans of the Afghan war among us. There are also some Soviet soldiers who had refused to participate in the atrocities committed against civilians in Getashen and Martunashen. There are Russians, Ukranians, even Koreans among them.

We are being accused of using people from other areas in our self-defence groups. But if a person was born in the Shaumyanovsk District, he goes on to regard it as his native place no matter where he lives. Why should he be refused the right to defend his place of birth and the ancestral graves?

I saw teenagers in the trenches...

In Buzlukh 15 fighters defended the village from 200 OMON troopers. The situation was desperate. Two boys, one 9 and the other 13, were quick enough to open the ammunition crates, arm the magazines and give them to the fighters – without a second's delay. After the OMON attack had been repelled, our fighters tried to do the same, but failed. And those two boys managed to do it.

Sometimes people compare the training of Armenian fighters and Azerbaijani OMON. It's not up to me to judge. Our fighters, however, know what they are fighting for, and I think this is enough. We have a very high discipline, that does not come from compulsion. It is the discipline of people dedicated to a cause. Our fighters are people, not scum. As for the morale of the OMON, it can be evaluated by the way how it is formed and what people serve in it. They do not want to die for nothing...

But there must be dedicated people among the Azerbaijanis as well...

The dedication of the OMON cannot be higher than the dedication of people whose sons were killed, sisters raped and who are defending their own homes... Do you think we had to do much fighting to liberate our three villages? There were 600 to 700 OMON troops there and they retreated after the attack of our unit which numbered less than 100 men!

Some day, if we are alive, we will meet in Getashen.

Do you think it is still possible to get Getashen back?

Any time. But talks have begun and we do not want to put Armenia into an embarrassing position. Neither armoured personnel carriers or the OMON will prevent us from getting the village back. The factor of strength does not really mean much – for them Getashen is a certain objective which they are ordered to defend. And, perhaps, it is also a place where they have warm and comfortable accomodation.

Under the Zheleznovodsk Communique observers from Russia and Kazakhstan were to start working in the conflict area on October 1 this year. When I left the district on October 8 there were no observers there. Have they appeared after I left?

They are not there even today. I am not the one to criticize the Communique but the fact is that it is more than ignored – the situation sharply aggravated after the Communique had been signed. The OMON started to behave even more brazenly and cruelly. They intensified the shelling of villages and are actively using tanks, armoured personnel carriers and artillery against civilians.

In Shaumyanovsk, my attention was attracted to a group of buildings next to the hospital. Later I learned that it was the local school. The way it looked surprised me: it seemed to have been attacked by Alazan missiles: there were no windows, walls were damaged and charred... Someone told me that in spring the school compound was turned into barracks for the Soviet Interior Troops.

We did not give any reason for displeasure to the Interior Troops. Moreover, the local people provided the troops with TV sets and a VCR. The local newspaper gave them a jeep. They left at night taking along the things that did not belong to them. They reduced the school to near rubble: they destroyed the floor in the gym, poured cement into the toilets and ruined the staircases...

Why did they do it?

It's inexplicable. I think they had a special mission in Shaumyanovsk: to provide for "peaceful" deportation and to convoy the deported residents to Nagorny Karabakh. They lived among us waiting for the OMON and the Fourth Army to come and deport us. It was Verishen's turn then. The deportation was stopped thanks to Russian MPs, thanks to journalists – and may our people who died there rest in peace.

* * *

I would like to address the last question not to Shaghen Megryan, but to the leadership of the Interior Ministry which controls the Interior Troops: Is the Ministry planning to compensate the village for the damage inflicted on it by its troops? There are no schools in Shaumyanovsk to teach children of refugees coming from the neighbouring districts to Shaumyanovsk. The largest school compound was ransacked by the troops. Children do not go to school. The local authorities do not have money, machinery or materials to repair the school. ■

Needed: a symbiosis of central and republican authorities

Igor Bunin

Better a terrible end than unending horror. According to a poll recently held by the national centre for the study of public opinion, 43 percent of those approached in Russia are prepared "to tighten their belts and give up for a year much of what they have had" in the hope that radical reforms will prove successful. In principle, the population is ready for reforms. It accepts a market economy, competition and private property. A positive image of an entrepreneur is shaping in the public mind. Positively protests against the tough market-oriented policy can lead to local riots and social explosions. But they are unlikely to grow into a strong political movement.

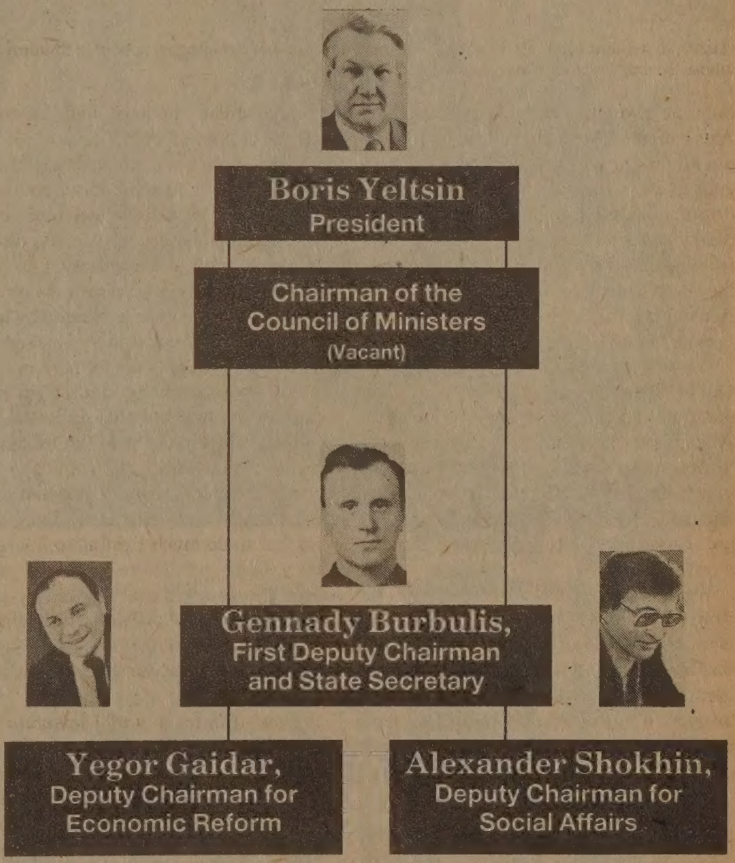
Apart from the psychological readiness of the population for reforms their success depends, to my mind, on two factors, namely, political stability and the presence of entrepreneurs capable of working in conditions of a market economy.

The central administration and republics

In the opinion of Max Weber any political power has three component elements. First, it should be legitimate, that is, legalized, publicly recognized. Second, it should have the machinery to put its decisions into effect. Third, it should have the right to use force or at least threaten to use force...

The central administration as such has gradually lost its legitimacy. Communist ideology, which legitimized the authority of the central administration in the past, has completely lost its power of attraction and now arouses only negative emotions. The August coup abolished even the legitimacy given the central administration by the March 1991 referendum. Mikhail Gorbachev was elected President by the now defunct Congress of People's Deputies. He is head of the state which, in the opinion of many, no longer exists. The central administration does not virtually have instruments of power needed to implement its policy. Union ministries are being closed down. Only a few persons from the former administration have remained among Gorbachev's close associates (Primakov, Bakatin). There are also people like Yegor Yakovlev, who returned to him after the August putsch, and persons (Ivan Silayev and Grigory

Ten decrees issued by Yeltsin a few days ago have demolished the props on which the former Union rested. The reforms which should have been effected several months, years, even decades ago seem to be getting under way



Assuming the duties of Chairman of the Government, President Yeltsin has launched reforms with the help of young economists from the team led by Yegor Gaidar. The first ten decrees have been issued. Union ministries have been closed down. The extraction of minerals and the export of oil, diamonds and precious metals have been taken over by the Russian cabinet. Yegor Gaidar will control the emission of money. It will be easier to conduct foreign trade. One of the decrees annuls the absurd taxes and customs on the import of food and other essentials. Another decree allows people to earn as much as they can. The pay of government employees has been doubled. Lastly, the notion of social partnership is being introduced. The struggle in the triangle – employers, trade unions and the government – must become a guarantee of prosperity of the population of Russia.

Photo by Yuri Gripas

Yavlinsky) virtually delegated to the central administration by Boris Yeltsin. Lastly, the central administration is in fact unable to use force. Some of the repressive bodies of the former Union, like the KGB, have been dismantled or are being placed under the control of republics, like the Ministry of the Interior. The Army and the Interior Ministry have been completely removed from involvement in ethnic conflicts. The central adminsitration is unable to apply even economic sanctions against Azerbaijan, which has cut off gas supply to Armenia.

The loss of political power by the central administration does not mean that it automatically goes over to republics. They have not found ideological formulas that can legitimize their power. The republics which have adopted "nationalism by blood" as their new ideology (for instance, Georgia and Moldavia) have found themselves in a state of ethnic conflicts. The republics which have chosen "nationalism by soil" (the Ukraine and Kazakhstan) are under the constant threat of national conflicts.

The world community is not at all prepared to recognize the new republican authorities and prefers to deal with a single confederation. The borders between republics are symbolic and often give rise to territorial disputes. Most republics do not have traditions of their statehood. Many of them were obviously established artificially. They gradually separated from the larger republics which formed the USSR in 1922. The administrative system is taking shape. However, a number of major instruments of the state – currency, customs and the Army – cannot be recreated quickly. This explains why some republics find it extremely difficult to use force against the recalcitrant sections of the population (for instance, against the Gagauzes and Russians in Moldavia).

Russia is in a relatively advantageous position in this respect. Yeltsin's close associates say that Russia must proclaim itself the heir to Russian statehood and the legal successor to the Union, though the President himself avoids making declarations of this kind. It is also easier for the world community to recognize Russia as the legal successor to the USSR. However, in Russia, too, power is not fully legitimate.

Coming to power in the struggle against the central administration and as a result of centrifugal tendencies, the new Russian politicians find it hard to become a unifying force even in the territory of the Russian Federation. On the other hand, great-power mentality historically inherent in the dominant nation prevents the shaping of nationalist ideology. As for the second element – political power – Russia could inherit the Union system of administration. However, every time, on the question of nuclear weapons, for instance, it encounters claims on the part of other republics.

Union instruments

What is needed now is a union of two legitimacies, both Union and republican, with the aim of ensuring political stability of the territories of the former USSR. The newly adopted formula – Union of Sovereign States, or a confederative state – seems to be the recognition of the fact. It allows the former USSR to go over to a new political system rather smoothly, with the right of succession preserved, and gain support of the world community, which wants to keep the central administration as a political partner and force stabilizing the Eurasian territories.

On the other hand, only the "liquidation commission" headed by Gorbachev can open the way to the international recognition of newborn states-republics. A greater part of the population of the former Soviet Union would like to preserver inter-republican ties. According to a poll conducted by the centre of topical studies at the Academy of Sciences' Institute of Sociology 72.6 percent of those approached in Moscow, 78.2 in Alma Ata, 67.9 percent in Krasnoyarsk, and 54.7 percent in Kiev support the idea of a union in the form of Union of Sovereign States.

If the central administration and Russia contributed to political stabilization in the republics regardless of the ideological orientation of their authorities, Russia could then hope to create a favourable external environment for itself and the central administration could preserve at least the functions of coordination, arbitration and consultation. The double legitimacy would mean not a merger of the two bureaucracies, Union and Russian, but their symbiosis. In a system of this kind the Russian authorities would benefit by the neutrality of Union bodies which would play the part of an arbitrator and provide information and expert advice for inexperienced republican bodies. This explains why the calls of the new Russian elite for completely abolishing the central administration evoke little, if any, response. The Russian administration could be the psychological, intellectual and power-generating locomotive of reforms and draw other republics in the process through such Union instruments as the ruble, central banks and a common budget.

The new generation chooses business

In the late years of the pre-perestroika period a considerable section of individuals relying mainly on their forces appeared in Soviet society, especially in academic institutes of various kinds. They were free of the dominant ideology, emancipated and psychologically ready to adopt new values and, what is most important, to act. The studies about new entrepreneurs are financed by the Tekhnobank. Sergei Vybornov, president of the Medbank, recalls those days: "The best ecological niche for an intellectual is the post of a senior researcher. He has a pay enough to live on and independence enough to do what he likes." Perestroika has allowed people to become completely free of the system. Vladimir Yakovlev, chief editor of the newspaper *Kommersant,* worked for some time as a broker selling and buying flats and "ceased to regard himself as part of the system."

People like him produced new Russian entrepreneurs from their midst. Scientific workers, engineers and work superintendents immediately went to cooperatives. Those of them who survived in the most difficult days of enterprise became businessmen. They are innovators, organizers of new combinations with the dominant motive of self-fulfillment. They are very similar to entrepreneurs of a new type who appeared in the West in the mid-1980s, when intellectuals went to business to find new ways of self-fulfillment. By all indications, the second generation of businessmen is less prepared to take chances. The previous period was too complicated, risky and uncertain for them.

Socialism found it difficult to resist the "spirit of capitalism" ideologically. After three years of resistance to cooperation private enterprise seems to have been accepted by the public. During a poll in the summer of 1991 about 69.8 percent of respondents described an entrepreneur as a working man. He becomes "a hero of our times," especially for the young generation. According to the Moscow Bureau of the National Institute for the Study of Public Opinion, 33 percent of respondents in the capital are going to start their own business. This determination was expressed by 19.4 percent of Muscovites aged from 25 to 35 and 25.9 percent aged from 18 to 24. It seems that the section of new entrepreneurs will be the dominant economic force in a society based on market relations now shaping in our country.

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It is not the goods that feed you but the tradesman who sells them

Tatiana Ivanova

I am telling those who are to buy and sell to fear no one, and listen to no one especially the men who order you around. We have got to survive and we shall, despite their stupidity

The heading is a translation of a Russian proverb which the celebrated Russian etymologist Vladimir Dahl adduced to explain the dictionary entry for the Russian word "kupets" which may be translated as tradesman or merchant. However, our leaders have but a poor understanding of Russian, while as for foreign terms they learn them by rote without actually understanding what they really mean. What I want to say is that only recently two things took place at one and the same time. These were, one, the Russian President's decree to "liberalize" commercial business and, two, the brand new signs that were put up all over Moscow saying: "Hand selling is forbidden."

Is foot selling allowed them? Is selling not commercial activity? Isn't "liberalization" the lifting of bans? Or don't the Moscow bigwigs know that in Moscows shopshelves have long been bare?

I would very much like to stare down that popularly elected Democrat by whose order these banning signs were produced and put up. Who could he be? Mayor Popov himself? Or Luzhkov, the head of the Moscow government? The mind boggles. However, there are things that are still more incredible. A crucial office at City Hall is now held by Larisa Piasheva, perhaps the most radical and sober-minded of our economist clan. Yet the appearance of these brand new banning signs coincided with her appointment. Is she really to blame?

But if she isn't? If all these wonderful folk are not to blame, that means that active in Moscow is an underground regional party committee which simply won't renounce the principles of socialist trading.

On Tuesdays the Moscow City TV programme hosts men from City Hall. They unhurriedly talk, in a most intellectual fashion about highly significant problems.

Yet now and again the anchorman dares to break into this somewhat incoherent intellectual babble and ask Popov or Luzhkov where one should go to buy at least something. Then taking the bit between his teeth, he will next suggest that people be allowed to buy and sell at least what they've got, for instance, second-hand clothes, or some amount of hoarded foodstuff. But the answer he gets runs "The Mosdow administration is giving great thought how to place buying and selling in the city on a proper basis. We have closed down the Rizhsky market and now the state of sanitary hygiene around is much better. We are now closing down the Yaroslavsky market and things will get cleaner there as well. We have shut down the Minaevsky and several other markets and are now discussing the issue of allotting land for flea markets in the neighbourhood of the Moscow Ring Road."

That said the anchorman and the city fathers shrug their soldiers as having touched upon something that is rather repulsive.

When I hear this I want to yell at them straight into the TV screen, that they themselves should take themselves off to the Ring Road, spend an hour if not more at bus stops, and then fight the crush inside. For none of your real tradesmen will ever go out to your flea markets as you call them. They prefer the *barakholka*, a smaller type of flea market right in town where crowds congregate and will put up their wares right beneath your sign saying "Hand selling is forbidden."

After all, people have got to get along somehow. Everybody knows that if you have a headache it is absolutely useless to apply to the chemists. It's just as pointless to look for pantyhose in a haberdashery or for butter in a grocery. All these goods are available at the flea markets, at those *barakholkas* where they are vended right under those self-same banning signs.

I very well remember that in this very same month but a year ago, Moscow shopshelves were as bare and that the same discussions were conducted about privatizing the trade network at once. I even remember a heading in the newspaper *Kommersant* that ran: "Moscow will not have a single state-owned shop left by the New Year." Ahead was that self-same New Year, which is now on its way out. However there is not a single privately-owned shop in Moscow as yet.

Another New Year is coming up, and again it is accompanied by the thunder of "wholesale privatization." Yet there appears on the TV screen in the country's main newscast that staunch market economist, democrat and progressive Elena Kotova, one of the Moscow bigwigs, who says shops should be rented on a long-terms lease.

Words fail me. Or perhaps I no longer understand what words really mean? Does sweeping privatization imply long-term leasing? Is private ownership only allowing you to use something? Or is democratic authority a type of government, when shops turn off the electricity only two hours after opening up, as they have nothing more to sell, while plots are made available by the Moscow Ring Road for a flea market?

It is rather queasy for me to remind our staunch market economists and stalwart democrats that free trading is the earnest of prosperity. I find it strange to tell them that all that the authorities may ban is traffic in weapons and drugs, that all other bans amount to the infringement on human rights. Indeed anyone may sell what he has to sell to anyone who wants to buy. To strike a deal they may meet up wherever they please, out in the street or square, on any porch, even in a pedestrian subway. Indeed, the only reprimand the authorities may utter in a free country is: "Please step aside as you're simply in the way."

Oh Lord above, who am I telling this? Market economist Popov? He very well knows that. Or the underground regional party committee? But they don't understand what such words mean. Most likely I am telling this to everyone who wants to buy and sell, that they fear nobody and listen to nobody and tell those who order them around where to get off. We've got to survive and we shall in defiance of their stupidity.

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The Chechen trap for the Russian leaders

Will the leadership of Russia manage to resolve the Chechen crisis?

Marina Shakina

Tracing the history of the conflict between the Russian leadership and General Dudayev, one is likely to observe many obvious and not-so-obvious blunders made by both sides. The blunders made by the Russian leaders are simple and more understandable because it is still unclear what General Dudayev is really after. It is evident that Dudayev is a clever man and, probably, a talented politician. On the whole, despite his sinister promises of terrorist attacks on Russia, he is behaving cautiously: suffice it to recall the fact that so far only three people have been killed in the turbulent events in Checheno-Ingushetia: a KGB officer killed during the storming of the local KGB headquarters, the deputy president of the local university, and a KGB major who was either killed or driven to suicide.

The killings and the kidnapping of the university rector were declared acts of sabotage and provocation on the part of the enemies of Chechen independence. Outside the republic these explanations were taken with a grin.

The duel of two generals

It is a simple truth that to keep people consolidated and prepared to repel attacks from the outside, one needs an enemy image – and no politician can invent anything new. For the Chechens the enemy figure is Russian imperialism and chauvinism impersonated by the leaders of the Russian republic busy intriguing against Checheno-Ingushetia.

Are there really any intrigues? The main shaper of the policy vis-à-vis the Chechens was Vice-President Rutskoi. All over the world the post of vice president is purely decorative – after all someone has to accept foreign ambassadors and meet and see off foreign dignitaries at airports. This role seems obviously inadequate for the energetic and brave general who became one of Russia's national heroes after the August putsch. Alexander Rutskoi was looking for a field where he could make the best of his energy and he finally found it. Today the emotional vice-president seems confused and wonders why everybody is criticizing him. All the steps he took were strictly in line with the Constitution and the laws of

The Chechen elders support Dudayev

Photo by Yevgeny Kondakov

Russia. However, the best policy maker is not he who follows laws to the letter, but he who uses laws to his advantage. A true politician would have calculated that in the circumstances his purely lawful measures might touch off a revolt. Politics is an art of realizing possibilities and it is impossible, indeed suicidal, to impose a state of emergency in Checheno-Ingushetia.

How are the events in Checheno-Ingushetia to be viewed? As national-liberation struggle like the Democratic Russia Movement believes? As a putsch? As the republic's internal affair – after all, peoples have governments they deserve to have?

A Common Market in the Caucasus?

Something the Russian parliament needs most of all now is reliable information from various sources, and a competent evaluation and analysis of such information. The first person to assess the situation in Checheno-Ingushetia more or less adequately was the Russian KGB chief, Viktor Ivanenko, who was against the imposition of a state of emergency. He was able to take into account not only the unconstitutional actions of General Dudayev, but public sentiments as well. Ivanenko was against the state of emergency because he is a realistically-minded politician, not because he is a democrat.

The Russian leadership is not likely to officially recognize General Dudayev. But then, it would be stupid to refuse to recognize him as a real political factor. To settle the situation in the republic the Russian leadership can suggest that Dudayev make his power legitimate by either calling national elections or holding a referendum on the republic's secession from Russia. Ironically, had Dudayev held normal elections a month ago, he would have come to power in a constitutional way and avoided any frictions with the Russian leadership and the world community.

Is it too late for Dudayev to make his power legitimate now? The general does not seem to be going to do that. The impression is that he feels firmly in control. For the Chechens who make up the bulk of the republican population he is an absolute leader and national hero. He is going to assume the mission of a man who will integrate the Northern Caucasian region. He is playing on the religious feelings of the people in a skillful and confident manner. Once the independence of his republic is recognized, he is prepared to make it a Union republic within Russia.

However, the Ingushes, who did not interfere with the general's attempts to create the Chechen Republic can revise their stand any time. The Russians who used to be neutral too and who are now leaving Checheno-Ingushetia for the Stavropol Territory of Russia, can easily promote anti-Chechen sentiments in Russia.

Purely economic problems are no closer to solution now either – tensions on the borders with the southern regions of Russia limit the opportunities of communication with the rest of Russia and sooner or later will have a negative effect on the new bourgeoisie and shadow economy dealers of the republic, for whom Russia is a vast market of raw materials and also the place where they sell their products. The Chechen business community is connected with Russia by official and unofficial goods exchange channels. There have been reports that Checheno-Ingushetia is going to be supplied with some goods from Turkey on the basis of a mutual agreement. Dudayev will certainly receive assistance from the Chechen diaspora in Europe but one wonders how large such assistance will be. There is always a possibility to set up a Common Market in the Caucasus, but today in the context of two wars – in Karabakh and South Ossetia and a potentially explosive situation in Abkhazia and on the border between North Ossetia and Checheno-Ingushetia this prospect looks rather problematic.

Informal recognition

Many observers regard Dudayev's ascention to power as a result of the struggle between different Chechen clans and believe that the general is realizing his personal ambitions and pursuing clan interests. As soon as he makes sure that nothing threatens his authority from within, he will become more flexible in his relations with Russia. Dudayev has already removed the preliminary conditions for talks with a Russian parliament delegation. Moreover, chances are that in the near future Dudayev will make the leaders of Russia interested in him in exchange for certain political guarantees, such as stability, the security of the Russian population (the general is already taking measures to stop the outflow of Russians from the republic), and his influence on the North Caucasian leaders. He will probably suggest a certain variant of a civilized Islamic autocracy open to European culture. With time Dudayev can become a very attractive figure for Russia.

The general needs support too – otherwise he will have problems with keeping power in the conditions of an unending clan struggle in the republic and struggle for regional dominance between various Caucasian peoples. In fact, the shadow of Russia hangs over anything General Dudayev does: the very fact that he keeps demanding independence from Russia suggests that he does not really feel free. And the fact that already under Dudayev the Ingushes demand the return of North Ossetian lands appealing to the **Russian** leadership and referring to the **Russian** laws suggests that the feeling of association with Russia has not yet disappeared.

How will the Russian leadership extricate itself from the delicate situation when it has to recognize Dudayev without formally recognizing him? This is a serious challenge for Russian politicians. It was by sheer luck that Yeltsin managed to avoid walking into his own trap with the state of emergency.

QUOTATION

Mikhail Gorbachev:

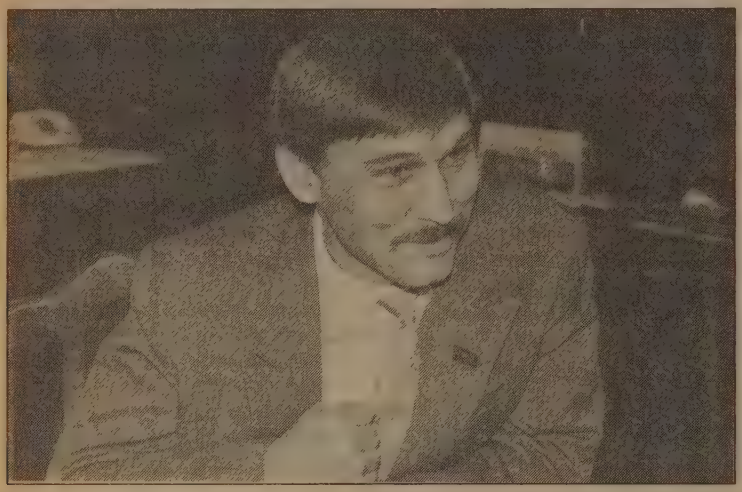
It was not for nothing that I thought that only a madman would attempt a putsch, a state of emergency... People will not accept dictatorship and the return of the past. That is why I always told people who asked me about it that I did not believe in the possibility of a putsch. Only adventurists who could not plan their actions two steps ahead could resort to a putsch.

It must be *New Times* which recently reported that Gorbachev had been warned about the possibility of a putsch by Baker via Bessmertnykh.

This is true. There was a phone call from Bush too. The president said: I am sorry but we have some information we think you should know... I assured the president that there was no need to worry and that everything was normal. At that time no putsch took place...

From Gorbachev's speech at the presentation of his book *The August Putsch: Reasons and Consequences.*
November 12, 1991

Why politicians become bureaucrats



"Even in my present position I am not going to conceal my political views," says People's Deputy **Arkady MURASHEV** who has agreed to become the head of the Moscow Police Department but refused to accept the rank of a general

You are a prominent politician, the coordinator of the Inter-Regional group of People's Deputies, a co-chairman of the Democratic Russia movement. What moved you to accept this purely bureaucratic position?

I am fed up with parliamentary debate. It was about six months ago that I started to feel like doing something concrete by working in the executive branch rather than in the legislative one. I think that the Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR has done its job. Good decisions are being taken, but they all get stuck somewhere halfway. Naturally, I did not even think about becoming a police chief. I was reluctant to accept this position.

Who talked you into accepting it? Mayor of Moscow Popov?

Popov. He was in a difficult situation: the Moscow Police Department had had no commissioner for a year by then. Several City Council deputies even went on a hunger strike demanding that General Komissarov be appointed to the post.

The post of the police commissioner is not something one expects a leading democrat to hold.

Would it have been a happier solution to entrust this difficult and not always pleasant work to a person we do not completely trust? My refusal would have meant the following: you do the dirty work, and I will stand aside criticizing you and bearing no responsibility for the goings-on. I was faced with a choice: either to admit that we were not in one team any longer; or to accept the post.

Do you sincerely hope to change anything in the mammoth machine now under your command? Aren't you afraid that your efforts and you yourself may be bogged down in redtape?

To some extent this is exactly what will happen. My taking this position was conditional on the Russian leadership's promise of immediate economic reforms which will provide the foundation for serious changes in the Moscow police force. If this does not happen, then all efforts will be meaningless and I will go to the opposition to the current leadership of Russia.

Can a state official be an opposition figure? Shouldn't you forget about you political conviction for the time you are in office?

I participate in the policy carried out by the leadership of Russia. Not because I am loyal to the leadership of Russia and Moscow the way the Moscow police force is loyal to me as it had been to my predecessors. I am in a different situation: if the policy of the Russian leadership changes, I will resign.

Do you think you are immune to the magic of a high office, saluting aides, the big black limousine, policemen saluting you at every corner? Such attributes of power can corrupt anyone.

I am of one age with my aides and my relations with them are different from what the relations between the aides and gray-haired generals had been. Actually, I do not command my subordinates, rather I am helping them to incorporate themselves in the political line of the current leadership of Russia.

The Russian leadership's policies are not always infallible. What do you do when the government makes an error?

I openly point at that error. The president's decision to impose a state of emergency in Chechen-Ingushetia was horrifying . Such errors undermine everything that people's trust in the leaders of Russia is based on. Unfortunately, nobody of us, Boris Yeltsin included, are ideal. It must be admmitted that Russian democracy may be in for a split. Some Russian leaders are heavily influenced by great-power chauvinism. Politicians adhering to nationalist ideas derive support from certain public sentiments. The recent job action of Moscow taxi drivers who demanded that people from the Transcaucasia be evicted from Moscow proves this.

Does Yeltsin lend an ear to them?

All the time. The decree on Chechen-Ingushetia is not the only step Yeltsin has done to please that faction.

How strong liberal democrats are in the new cabinet?

The whole cabinet is composed of them, actually. New ministers are the experts whom we consulted two years ago when we were out of power...

As head of the Moscow Police Department,

would you subscribe to many deputies' fears that a wave of crime may soon sweep Russia?

We have an upsurge of two kinds of crimes: apartment robberies and theft of cars. Cars are stolen because of the lack of spare parts. The stolen car is cannibalized somewhere in the forest out of Moscow and left there. Such crimes are extremely difficult to resolve. As for apartment robberies, people themselves continue to be very careless: each new report brings the same news – someone rings the door bell and the tenant opens the door without even bothering to ask who's there. The statistics of homicide, rape and other grave offences have increased insignificantly this year.

This is not something I would call an optimistic formula.

We are on the path to a free society and in such society it will not be possible to fight crime by simply evicting all potential criminals out of the one hundred kilometre zone around Moscow. About 350 murders are committed in Moscow annually. In New York, the population of which is approximately equal to that of Moscow this figure is 2,500. It is naive to think that we will be able to avoid the fate of New York, Paris or London. The only alternative is to turn this country into one huge concentration camp, but people will be murdered in there too.

Do people get killed for the same reasons in Moscow and New York?

There are specific reasons here. The usual scenario is as follows: people share a bottle of alcohol and then one of them kills the other with a kitchen knife, which is a typically Moscow weapon. Many murders are committed by women who kill their husbands or boy-friends. So far there have been few large-scale conflicts between competing Mafia groups.

It must be unpleasant to head the service which is not liked by the population. People do not exactly love the police, do they?

The Moscow police must become a Western-type police force. The job of a policeman must become a prestigeous one. Today Muscovites do not usually join the police force. People agree to become policemen only in exchange for a flat in Moscow. This results in a low professional level and the climate inside the police force that Muscovites resent.

The administration of Moscow does not seem to have enough money to increase your budget. What sponsors could give you money to buy good police cars, new uniforms and modern equipment?

Today the expenditure on police takes up one percent of the total city budget. The money is given by the central government and taxpayers from all over the country are paying for the Moscow police force as they are for the Moscow metro. When prices control is abolished and the state budget starts being formed in a more reasonable way, the city will have money to spend on the police too.

It is believed that while the police force is chronically short of money, individual policemen can take good care of themselves. Do you have any data about corruption in the Moscow police force?

Like in any institution, corruption exists in police too. It is very difficult to draw the line of division between what is permitted and what is not. We are not a law-abiding society yet. For example, high-ranking officials in the Russian government are responsible for the issuance of export licences and they issue such licences very liberally sometimes. They like someone or some organization, and they sanction the export of raw materials worth hundreds of millions of dollars, believing they have done a good thing. And actually, they have given government money to the person they liked. Is this corruption or not? The entire economic system of this country is based on this. All decisions are taken arbitrarily, including the City Council's decisions on the distribution of appartments. The same goes on in the Police Department as well.

You have already become a patriot of the Moscow police. Do you at least agree that there is one police service that inspires everybody's hatred – the Motor Vehicle Department (GAI)? GAI officers are believed to be totally corrupted.

Foreign journalists once asked me why there were GAI officers at all Moscow crossroads? I could not answer, because there was nothing to say. In the centre of Moscow they have one mission: to clear the way for limousines of big bosses, including my own limousine. I agree that the GAI must be seriously reformed.

Will you have enough nerve and determination to break what has to be broken? Or will departmental patriotism prevail in you?

I think I will be able to cope.

The police used to be controlled by a corresponding KGB service. KGB officers worked inside the police force. What are your current relations with the KGB Moscow branch?

KGB men were recalled from the police before I was appointed to this post. We have good relations and we have dissolved the service that used to control the KGB. The KGB do not have much to do nowadays and is starting to fight crime together with us. We are starting to have common problems and need cooperation. We hope that the KGB will give us some of its equipment and transfer to us the Lefortovo remand prison. Our anti-Mafia units and the corresponding services of the KGB can one day merge to form the Russian version of the FBI.

You must be one of Moscow's best-informed people. You know things that nobody knows. Does this give you any special feelings?

I do not know anything special. The only secret agents we have are informers from the criminal world. I do not know them, though.

What about the crimes in high places?

We do not have our own famous corruption busters, like Gdlyan for instance. As for the three former CPSU Central Committee officials who committed suicide, we have thoroughly investigated their cases. No one pushed them out of the window – their suicides were witnessed by their families. Even if they had been blackmailed, the decision to commit suicide was their own. The only crime connected with people in power is the theft from Vice-Mayor Luzhkov's car.

Has the thief been found?

Yes, he has, so have the stolen things. However, people in the district police station were negligent enough to let the thief escape.

Was the Vice-Mayor very indignant after things were stolen from his car?

Nobody phoned me to tell about that. Actually it was by an accident that I learned about the crime at all.

There have been rumours of a coming amnesty. People are afraid that criminals will be released and will return to their business.

When I visited a prison everybody was asking me when the amnesty would take place. I do not know where such rumours come from: the convicts must have a very special vision of what is going on in Russia. I think, though, that people convicted for the so-called economic felonies must be amnestied. Incidentally, the 500-day programme stipulated for an immediate anmesty of all such convicts.

Interviewers

Leonid Mlechin,

Tatyana Chernova

Photo by Vladimir Panov

USSR – AFGHANISTAN

Mujahedin in Moscow, Najibullah thus far in Kabul

An afterword to the odd talks, at which neither party was sure where it stood

The Mujahedin fired on Soviets nearly ten years running

The only news conference that the Mujahedin held while in Moscow wound up a little after 8 p.m. on November 15. Read out there was the document agreed after a week of talks, the joint statement of the Soviet and Russian sides and the Mujahedin delegation. From the Russian Federation White House the Afghans set out for the airport, and there something totally unforeseen occurred.

The delegation of Afghan Mujahedin was composed of two groups, one from Pakistan, led by Burhanuddin Rabbani, leader of the Islamic Society of Afghanistan and Foreign Minister in the Peshawar-based provisional Mujahedin government, the other from Iran led by Mortazawi, the Chairman-Speaker of the Party of Islamic Unity of Afghanistan. What happened at the airport was that Mortazawi unexpectedly objected to the text of the joint statement that he had himself signed only four hours earlier. The initial panic gave way to a sigh of relief when he explained what he actually sought to change. It appeared that the Iranian Mujahedin were against having only Prof. Rabbani named in the statement as head of the joint Mujahedin delegation and wanted the two, Iranian and Pakistani delegations to be indicated as equals but united in one delegation headed by two leaders, but under Rabbani's joint leadership.

Such was the odd and somewhat unexpected manner in which the two groups of Mujahedin manifested for the first and last time their differences at the talks. However, a political show, as the upshot of different views, which reporters had anticipated did not come off. The Mujahedin came out jointly, shelving personal ambitions and holding back personal pride, in order to secure a common goal. One may only guess what made Mortazawi act so strangely at the very last moment. Either nerves failed him, or he had quarrelled with the "Pakistanis" on the way to the airport, or else the Iranians were against as despite their wish to influence Afghanistan's policy, they had been given the text of the agreement at the last moment.

On the other hand, the other side, or rather sides, had furnished more than enough food for diverse interpretation.

Face-saving

The Mujahedin came to Moscow at the invitation of two offices. The first was from the Soviet MFA. Later Iona Andronov, Deputy Chairman of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Committee for International Affairs and External Economic Ties, presented an invitation on President Yeltsin's behalf, when in Pakistan. It was only natural, therefore, that on the very morning of their arrival Russian Federation Vice-President Alexander Rutskoi received, in camera, the Mujahedin delegation.

Mohammad Amin Mounsif of the Pakistani group understood Alexander Rutskoi as having said that "the current Russian leadership is not responsible for the Soviet incursion into Afghanistan and promises to bring pressure to bear on the USSR government to have all interference in Afghanistan's internal affairs and backing for the Najib puppet regime end."

GULBUDDIN HEKMATYAR. Born in 1948. Under Zahir Shah was expelled from a military college for political activity. Imprisoned for 18 months when accused of killing a student Communist Party member.

Now heads the Islamic Party of Afghanistan (IPA) numbering some 175,000 armed fighters. An expert in hand-to-hand fighting. Rumoured to have coolly killed 30 members of a rival Mujahedin party.

SIBGHATULLAH MOJADDEDI, 66, President of the Peshawar provisional Mujahedin government. Born into a prestigious religious family in Afghanistan. Taught at Kabul University. A reformer, he belongs to the moderate Mujahedin wing. Was to have led the delegation to Moscow, but was stopped by comrades-in-arms and Pakistani secret service.

According to other members of the delegation, Alexander Rutskoi told the Mujahedin that for Russia the POW problem was the priority and that the Yeltsin administration was prepared to do anything to set them free. What does that "anything" actually imply?

At a meeting with the POW mothers Prof. Rabbani listed demands first made yet five years ago. These were to end all aid to Kabul, remove President Najibullah, release all imprisoned oppositionists, and extend official recognition to the Mujahedin. However, the issue of arms deliveries was raised in a somewhat different light. We, Prof. Rabbani said, want this very night to hear the Soviet leadership declare that it forbids the Najibullah regime to employ Soviet-delivered weaponry. "I," Prof. Rabbani admitted, "would like to spend my time in Moscow to resolve political issues so that the field commanders holding your POWs realize that you have really changed your policy vis-à-vis Afghanistan." Mortazawi, meanwhile, clinched the matter by declaring that it would be very difficult to settle the POW issue unless the Afghan problem was radically resolved and Soviet policy vis-à-vis Kabul modified.

Just fancy, the Soviets are prepared to enter into a dialogue while only recently Moscow and Washington announced the termination of arms deliveries to Afghanistan as of next January 1, yet now we hear one ultimatum after another.

Incidentally, this was only to be expected from the Mujahedin. Whereas the Russian Federation thought negotiations would reduce exclusively to a discussion of the POW issue, the Mujahedin on the other hand made no bones about their desire to discuss political issues in Moscow first of all. If Russia was not inclined to discuss politics, then she had to be compelled to do so. Furthermore, according to what I have heard, when "luring" the Mujahedin to Moscow it had been broadly hinted that they put forward their own terms, as we were amenable to everything. In the upshot Russian Federation MFA officials found themselves in a bit of a quandary, as they could not meet the terms the Mujahedin put; yet at the same time they were obliged to engage in a face-saving exercise for Vice-President Rutskoi. From what was said in the foyers I understood that the situation had been saved by Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Alexander Belonogov, who led the Soviet side and who is familiar with the Afghanistan problem as the result of his UN activity. The stance taken by the USSR MFA, which the Russian Federation MFA echoed was tough. It was that though the USSR would no longer supply Afghanistan with arms and would no longer interfere in the internal affairs of its sovereign neighbour, the squabble between Peshawar and Kabul was the internal affair of the Afghan people. In the roundabout way that Prof. Rabbani

put it, at that final news conference he implied that the Russian Federation had taken a determined stance, that the USS had been vacillating but that in the long run agreement had been reached.

In all probability there would have been no agreement and the talks would have deadlocked: however, the Mujahedin had to leave and didn't want to go away with empty hands, as too great an effort had been expended to coax most of the groupings into consenting to a dialogue with Moscow. However, disagreement still exists. Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, leader of the Islamic Party of Afghanistan has already announced in Peshawar that he will not accept the Moscow agreements and documents.

Always against

Hekmatyar has demonstrated once again that despite all the recent get-togethers, whether in Islamabad, Teheran or in the UN in New York, the Mujahedin still have differences and that represented in Moscow was far from the full range of views in the Afghan resistance movement.

There is firstly a difference between the Pakistani Sunnite Mujahedin, who are mostly Pushtuns, and the Iranian Shiite opposition who reflect the opinions of the Afghan national minorities, more specifically the Hazaras. True, the differences are rather of a national than religious character. Thus, the Iranian Mujahedin did not recognize the provisional Afghan Mujahedin government set up in Pakistan in 1989 as the quota allotted to the Hazaras was too small. Incidentally, they have never been represented in the country's political or military elite except when Afghanistan's Prime Minister in the early 1980s was the Hazara Keshtmand. Hence the rather loyal attitude of the Iranian Mujahedin to the current Kabul administration. The Hazaras are willing to have a political settlement and have agreed to the UN-proposed programme for resolving the Afghan crisis.

The militarily weakish Iranian Mujahedin want elections held. However, they disagree with those Pakistan Mujahedin who have already agreed to such elections. The moderate Peshawar-based opposition wants these elections to follow the old traditional Loya Jirgah model, which specified a system of quotas and is of a multistage order. The Iranian Mujahedin want the "one man – one vote" principle, with female suffrage as this would provide them with some leverage in a future Islamic government.

Last June Teheran, which fears that disunity in the weakish Iranian Mujahedin will leave them out in the cold on Afghanistan's future political scene, managed to found the party of Islamic Unity of Afghanistan with Mortazawi at its head. However, the unity was short-lived. Only two

PIR SAYYID AHMAD GAILANI, 58. Twice Afghan MP. In 1963-64 involved in drafting constitution for royalist Afghanistan. Was adviser on Islam to Zahir Shah and Premier Daoud. Believed to be a direct descendant of the Prophet Mohammed. Head of the National Islamic Liberation Front, whose armed units number 18,000. Likewise not allowed to go to Moscow, where sent son.

BURHANUDDIN RABBANI, 50, leader of the Islamic Society of Afghanistan (ISA). Taught theology at Kabul University. In 1976 emigrated to Pakistan, where founded ISA, which after the IPA has the second largest armed force. Led opposition delegation to talks with Soviet representatives in Al-Taif, Saudi Arabia, in December 1988 where Yuli Vorontsov demonstrated tougher stance than Russian Federation's present leaders. Since February 1989 a member of the "provisional government of Afghan Mujahedin," in which held office first as Minister of Reconstruction, and subsequently, as Foreign Minsiter. Is pragmatic as regards political settlement.

months later, four groupings proclaimed an independent Coalition Council for an Islamic Revolution and an Afghan Jihad headquartered in Peshawar. Heading this council is Ayatollah Mohseni, a Shiite and Pushtun. Evidently the national factor may even come to outweigh the religious aspect in the Mujahedin movement.

However, even in Peshawar not all Mujahedin are of one mind. Anything such moderate leaders as Mojaddedi, Muhammad Nabi Muhammadi and Gailani may do, fundamentalists Hekmatyar, Junos Khalis, Abdul Rasul Sayaf reject it out of hand. Thus on the eve of the Moscow talks, Khalis declared he would not support these talks as all discussion with the enemy on his territory conflicted with Islam.

Answering the UN proposal for a peace conference on Afghanistan Hekmatyar said: "This is a US proposal that seeks to pave the way for a coalition of royalist semi-Mujahedin." He also thinks the termination of Soviet and US arms deliveries to Afghanistan will be of little use as in the three months between the signing of the relevant agreement and next January 1, the Soviets may reinforce Kabul's armed might.

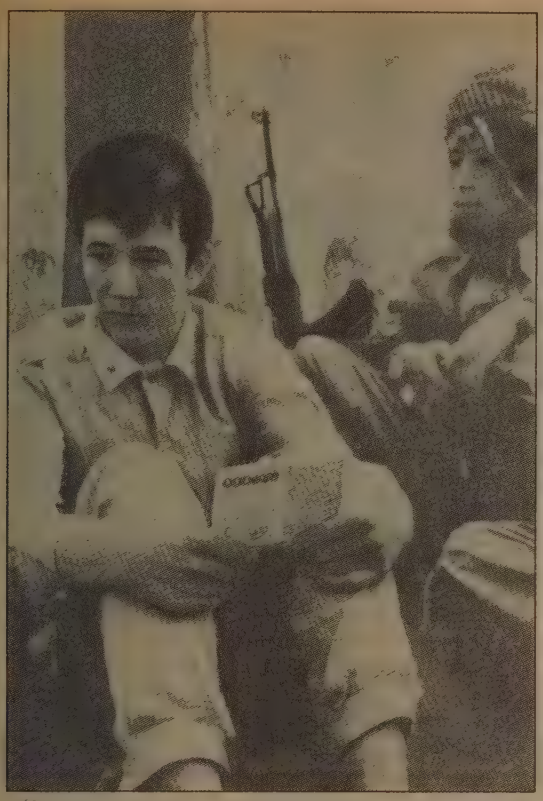
Hekmatyar's "neither West nor East" tactics greatly suit Pakistan as it hopes to control a future Islamic Afghanistan.

On the eve of the Mujahedin delegation's arrival in Moscow all these differences erupted into an open squabble. As a result, instead of heading the delegation Sibghatullah Mojaddedi, the President of the provisional government, dispatched his brother Hashmatullah Mojaddedi. Meanwhile Sayyid Gailani sent his son Hamid to Moscow. Thus the delegation was led by Prof. Rabbani. At the same time the moderate Mujahedin quarreled with Pakistan, or rather with its ISI military intelligence, accusing it of plotting to wreck Afghanistan's power grid and dynamite three major dams. Mojaddedi even treatened that were Islamabad to continue to interfere in Afghanistan's internal affairs and exert pressure on the President of the provisional government, he would leave Peshawar for Afghanistan or some other country.

However, in Moscow the Mujahedin were united on the central issue which is that for peace to come to Afghanistan they must get the USSR to remove Najibullah and must wage their jihad until victory is won.

Najibullah?

President Najibullah gave a rather restrained reception to the Soviet-American decision to terminate arms deliveries, hinting that it would be a good thing were Pakistan, Iran and Saudi Arabia to likewise stop giving military aid to the Mujahedin. Of course he could not react otherwise. He accepted with dignity the UN proposal for a transitional government in Kabul. Peres de Cuel-



The victims of a senseless war: Soviet POWs and Afghan refugees

lar says that according to the data he has "some current Kabul leaders" will not press for personal involvement either in an intra-Afghan dialogue or in a transitional government realizing that they are too repulsive for the other side. Apparently Najibullah is one such leader.

But where will Najibullah go after the newly created Islamic government in Kabul definitely tries to kick him out?

When Soviet troops quit Afghanistan, Western newsmen paid as much as thousand dollars in backsheesh to rent rooms in Peshawar's one and only decent hotel. The influx was so great, as the West was sure Kabul would soon cave in. Indeed, at the time Eduard Shevardnadze and Vladimir Kryuchkov invited Najibulah to temporarily send his family to USSR. However, Najibullah refused, saying that his family had already chosen to stay on with him in Kabul.

When in 1986 Mikhail Gorbachev, then CPSU General Secretary, pressed for a Soviet pull-out from Afghanistan, the Karmal administration baulked, but Najibullah, whom Moscow chose to head the Kabul government, promised to let Soviet troops go.

He is a strong-willed man and it is quite possible that he will stay on in Kabul even after an Islamic government is elected. On the other hand, it may well be that he is sure of his own cabinet's future. After all, we still do not know how field commanders will react to the Moscow agreement, especially their Number One man Ahmad Shah Masud, recently Panjeri's sole ruler, who will most likely be displeased with the Moscow meeting to which he was not invited. Which way will he turn? All this gives Najibullah something of a chance.

Whom did we fight? Who are we talking with?

What irked the Mujahedin delegation most was the question that reporters asked as to inner conflicts. Prof. Rabbani told me:

"We were united in the war against the Soviet invading army. Now we are united in establishing an Islamic government in Kabul. But each party naturally wants to win. What we have now are natural political problems and differences.

"Most of us have come here jointly for establishing peace. Those who did not come thought that the Soviets would not change their policy vis-à-vis Afghanistan, that the Soviets would not be willing to go for a political settlement. However, our differences are not so deep as is said."

If the Peshawar government takes over in Kabul, what problem will assume priority?

"The repatriation of refugees, reconstruction of housing, of which 80 percent has been destroyed in the war. For 13 years education was forgotten and we will have to work on an educational programme. Though we built schools in our refugee camps we could not tackle the problem in all its complexity in wartime. A huge job is to defuse the some 50 million mines. Economically, the country is bankrupt. In short, whatever we undertake in Afghanistan we shall have to start from zero."

When I asked at the final news conference whether the Majahedin would now establish relations separately with each of the states of former Soviet Central Asia, Prof. Rabbani said:

"We naturally have a stake in promoting relations with our neighbours, the USSR and Russia. However, considering the historical and cultural links and the common language and religion, our relations with those republics will be of a specific order."

What, I wonder? For Moscow is far away, while Kabul is near at hand.

Irina Lagunina

The price of a strange war

**Yugoslavia was believed to be a laboratory for untraditional socialist models.
Now it is rather a laboratory for civil war**

People are killed day after day

Photo by Camera-press – TASS

Yugoslavia's Presidium has asked the UN to send a peacekeeping force. Croatian President has acted likewise. But what can the UN do if in Yugoslavia today it is easier to buy a tommy-gun and harder to purchase food and clothing. War foots its own bill.

The thousands of Yugoslavs killed have paid the supreme price. Human life is now worth nothing. Every day people die for the sake of a real or sham national idea, of which many have but a faint notion. Though the conflict has been continuing for four months odd now, neither side has achieved its aims.

The whirlwinds of war have forced 300,000 people to become refugees in their own country. Neighbours of yesterday are enemies today. Not only neighbours. Living by our office in Belgrade is the Serb Milan, who fled to the capital with his mother and his 15-months-old boy. However his Croatian wife stayed behind, claiming that she no longer wanted to live with a Serb. Interethnic animosity cuts to the quick, dividing neighbours and families. In the theatres of hostilities one of every three children comes from a mixed marriage. However, only yesterday they were children. Today one brother may be with the Croatian militants, another with the Serbian volunteers.

The miles-long queues for petrol are everyday reality. If things continue thus, not only petrol will need to be rationed. Rationing will be token of Yugoslavia's future. It is estimated that the losses due to the war will run into more than $20 billion this year.

When lines form outside shops, the economy is to be sought around the corner, in the darkness of the black market. The street, not the National Bank dictates exchange rates for US dollar and German mark. Inflation threatens to bring back a situation when prices leaped almost daily.

The country's disintegration has almost completely ruptured the economic ties between the different republics. Though the losses have not been tallied so far, we already know that due to the conflict the total output will be down by a quarter by the end of the year, a rate of decline that even the most backward countries do not demonstrate.

The globally televized sequences of the Yugoslav war tell businessment more than what politicians say when exhorting the West to invest in the country's economy.

EXCLUSIVE FOR NEW TIMES

Armour is no argument

Macedonian President **Kiro GLIGOROV** in *New Times* interview

New Times. Will Yugoslavia survive?

Kiro Gligorov. After everything that has occurred in Slovenia and Croatia, after the thousands of victims and the dozens of destroyed cities and towns, and after the accumulated burden of national animosity, Yugoslavia will survive only as a feeble community of republics with minimal joint functions. To begin with we could try to form an economic community. But with the passage of time common agencies for political administration would be needed.

NT. How realistic is the country's disintegration?

K.G. Very much so. Few want to live in a country where blood is spilled and gunfire continues unabated. I think the effort to settle the Yugoslav crisis by means of armed force is hopeless.

NT. What will Macedonia do in this case?

K.G. If Yugoslavia disintegrates, Macedonia will become independent. We will not accept either a "curtailed Yugoslavia" bereft of several republics.

Yet it would be an illusion to think that an edict could rupture all previous ties. The process of achieving independence will take quite a while for the republics. Macedonia is not rushing to enact legislation hedging it off from the other republics.

NT. Won't Macedonia's proclamation of indpendence complicate relations with its neighbours?

K.G. Macedonia threatens no one and has territorial claims to no one. As for

The influx of foreign capital, even though not that great in the past, has petered out. The European community's decision to impose economic sanctions will hit hard at the Yugoslav economy. The projected $ 1 billion credit has been frozen. International financiers frankly say that while gunfire continues, none of Yugoslavia's republics may count on loans.

The bulk of the diminishing currency receipts are engulfed by military spending. Naturally, maintenance of the Yugoslavian national army and the thousands of recruited reservists is expensive. However, the upkeep of national armies, which each Yugoslav republic currently seeks to form, is still more erosive.

The republics seek to meet military spending by printing their own money. However, without the goods to meet this money, this is more reminiscent, as one Yugoslav economist put it, of jumping into a pool, before it fills up with water. And thereby hangs the following joke which runs: Addressing the population, the head of one republican government says: "We need funds to build a factory for printing money. We will repay the debt after the factory starts operating."

Gennady Sysoyev,
our own correspondent

BELGRADE

neighbours, note that in Macedonia there are only some 40,000 Serbs for which reason a repetition of Croatian inter-ethnic strife is out of question. For that matter Serbia has long acknowledged the republic of Macedonia and its nation. Greece has a Macedonian minority for whom we want only observance of European legal norms. There is no dispute between our two countries. Meanwhile Bulgaria, though recognizing Macedonia does not admit the Macedonians to be a nation, which we find rather contradictory. Still we shall not of argue. Nobody needs to convince us that we are Macedonians.

NT. In the past the Balkan countries always relied on powerful allies. What is the situation like now?

K.G. Today is not the time for traditional pacts and alliances founded on faiths or cultures. We must learn to live together despite differences.

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The town of Halabja after a chemical attack

Kurdistan on the warpath

Reports from Turkish and Iraqi Kurdistan remind one of communiqués from the theatre of war. Spells of a lull in fighting are rare. Early in October both Turkey and Iraq simultaneously began hostilities against the Kurds. In the environs of Suleimania, Iraqi troops relentlessly massacred Kurds – members of the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan led by Jellal Talibani. About 400 Kurds were killed in the fighting. Turkish troops drove Kurds – members of the Kurdistan Workers' Party led by Abdullah Odjalan – to Iraqi territory and bombed them from planes. Iraq claims that napalm was used, though its propaganda should be taken with caution.

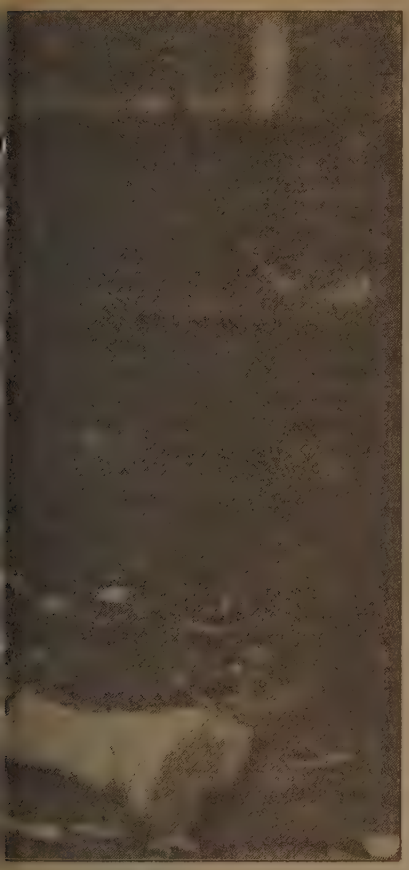
By November 5 Iraq had completed an economic blockade of Kurdistan by blocking all the roads into the region. By November 10 its troops had been moved to Suleimania, Kirkuk, Mosul, Erbil and other towns of Kurdistan. Saddam Hussein had prepared for "an all-out offensive" against the Kurds. On November 12 Reuters reported that tension had eased at least in the area of Erbil. According to Kurdish representatives, Baghdad proposed lifting the economic blockade if the armed guerrillas left the towns in the north of Iraq.

Iraqi and Turkish leaders dislike each other. But both are killing Kurds

Winter has come to the region and icy winds are blowing in the mountains. Kurdish families live in tents. It is hard to convey the suffering of children whose parents have been killed by soldiers and the despair of mothers. Tens of thousands of refugees, driven by Turkish and Iraqi troops, are fleeing to the mountains. In winter many of them will not survive hunger and cold. The troops of the former anti-Iraqi coalition perform a noble mission today, building warm houses for refugees and supplying them with food and medicines. However, they will hardly be able to care for everyone.

An idyll in Erbil

Saddam Hussein thinks he is right with regard to the Kurds. The equality of Kurds and Arabs is guaranteed by the Constitution, he argues. Money has been allocated for the Kurdish regions. Kurdistan is an autonomous area. Its citizens elect their deputies to the parliament. The Kurds have their newspapers, radio and television. Education is con-



ducted in the Kurdish language. Where else do the Kurds have autonomy and enjoy such rights and freedoms?

In the spring of 1990 the Iraqi authorities invited a group of journalists to Erbil, the administrative centre of Kurdistan, for the ceremony marking the 16th anniversary of the autonomy of that large region in the north of Iraq. Let journalists see for themselves that the Kurds are masters in their land.

President Hussein took part in the ceremony. Four Soviet journalists, the author included, were the only foreigners at the celebrations. Erbil is not Baghdad, of course, and the imprint of provinciality is highly visible everywhere. However, the difference between the capital and the provinces is not so striking in Iraq as in the Soviet Union. There are plenty of goods and food in all the shops.

In the central part of Erbil stands an imposing administrative building with a square in front of it. The square was cordoned off, and the guests invited to the celebrations could pass through the only narrow entrance. I was searched for the first time during my numerous trips abroad. It was prohibited to take any tape-recording or photographing devices.

Saddam Hussein was already inside the building. His address was delayed, evidently deliberately. During this time paid agitators had driven the audience into ecstasy. I saw five such agitators dressed in quality European suits. They stood on the elevated platform near the entrance to the building and screamed out rhymed cheers in honour of the President. Those gathered in the square caught up the cheers, waving portraits of Hussein in the Kurdish national attire. Near the platform I noticed two lines of men and women with petitions in their hands. An estimated 25,000 people assembled in the square. The crowd was evenly divided by submachine gunners, each of whom controlled a small group of people.

There was great commotion as Saddam Hussein appeared. Two lines with petitions were crushed in no time. The soldiers began to drive the crowd back, acting with their gun butts. The face of one Iraqi woman journalist was hurt badly and we, Soviet journalists, were urgently led round the corner of the building.

At a press conference that evening leaders of autonomous Kurdistan accused journalists of overemphasizing shortcomings and dancing to the tune of Iraq's foes. I wanted to ask them about a chemical attack in Halabja but then changed my mind. I could also be accused of dancing to the enemy's tune, especially as leaders of Kurdistan denied the report on this attack. According to them, a trait – or of the homeland, Jelal Talibani, head of the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan, opened the border to the Iranians with whom Iraq fought. But the great leader Saddam Hussein declared an amnesty and pardoned this traitor and now he can return to Iraq.

The statement of Jafar Abdell Kerim Berzanchi, chairman of the executive committee of autonomous Kurdistan, is very revealing in this respect. "After Allah and his prophet Mohammad, the leader Saddam Hussein and the Baath party remain most dear to me, a Kurd," he said. It appears that the family and children do not count.

It can be supposed, however, that far from all Kurds adore President Hussein to such a degree. How did they elect Berzanchi head of Kurdistan? Who picked up Kurds to take part in the ceremony? Why don't they know about the events in Halabja in March 1988, when about 5,000 Kurds, mainly children playing in the streets, were killed by cyanide?

True, in Baghdad I heard radio and TV broadcasts in Kurdish and bought Kurdish newspapers. In Erbil I talked with Kurdish schoolchildren. However, no journalist dared visit some areas of Kurdistan called "dead zones" or "dead belts." The inhabitants of about 3,000 villages have been forcibly evicted from those areas and scattered

Kurdish guerrillas in Iraq *Photos from Der Spiegel (Germany)*

The Kurds are not a bellicose nation. In the 17th century Iran and the Ottoman Empire took advantage of this by dividing its territory between them. After the First World War the Entente powers redivided Kurdistan, "forgetting" that it was an independent nation with its territory and ancient culture. Today Kurdistan is divided between Turkey (12 million Kurds), Iran (7 million) and Iraq (4 million). One and a half million Kurds live in Syria and about a million in the Soviet Union (in the territory of Armenia and Azerbaijan).

There is no problem in the countries where the Kurds are treated liberally by the authorities. A grave situation has arisen in Turkey and Iran.

The Soviet Union, which backed all national-liberation movements, abandoned the Kurds at one time. This rare occasion was prompted by the desire to maintain good relations with Turkey and such "progressive anti-imperialist" regimes as Iraq and Iran. The USSR pursues a different policy today. However, it is now concerned with how to save its own refugees of various nationalities.

throughout the country. The British journalist Firzad Bazoft turned off the road in 1988. He was then declared a spy and hanged. In the same year Alexander Balmatov, a correspondent for the Soviet news agency TASS, was killed under mysterious circumstances. He had an automobile accident in the area where foreigners were not allowed to travel. He warned me shortly before his death in Baghdad: "Look out, don't give away too much while you are here. They are eavesdropping on us everywhere. We have already gotten used to this. And, for God's sake, be careful about the roads you choose."

Between the hammer and the anvil

The Iraqi regime is cruel, indeed. But Turkish authorities are not kind either. One of my acquaintances, a Kurd from Turkey, told me recently what he heard from a Turkish official: "What are you complaining about? We have even allowed your singer to give a concert in Kurdish." Indeed, in Turkey this is considered an achievement of democracy. The Kurds have been renamed "Turkish mountaineers" or "highland Turks."

Turkish authorities also destroy villages and create "dead zones." According to the newspaper *Le Monde Diplomatique*, the inhabitants of 112 Kurdish villages were evacuated in early 1990. Later 400 villages were mentioned.

The Kurds replied to the cruel policy by founding the Workers' Party in 1978. Six years later the party began to fight against the regime. Until recently it was called a terrorist group and was accused of killing civilians and blowing up schools and other civilian installations in Turkey. Newspapers reported, for instance, that the guerrillas had mined a road on which a lorry with soldiers was to pass. However, an ordinary passenger bus hit the mine.

The Workers' Party today heads the Kurdish movement in Turkey. It leans towards Marxism. Abdullah Odjalan, the leader of this party, says that it fights for the independence of Kurdistan. The Workers' Party does not resort to the rhetoric of national-liberation movements which complain about cruel repressions on the part of authorities.

"War is war," a Workers' Party member told me this autumn. "War has been imposed on us by the cruel regime. It has driven us to armed struggle. We are fighting against the Turkish army, destroying its military and economic installations."

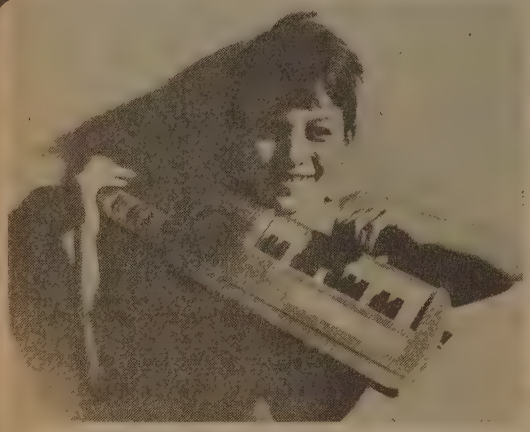
In Iraq, the Kurdish resistance movement is led by two most authoritative parties: the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan headed by Jellal Talibani, and the Democratic Party of Kurdistan headed by Masoud Barzani. I talked with representatives of these parties and found their programmes rather moderate. They agree to autonomy within Iraq provided the rich oil-fields in their territory are also included in the autonomous region and placed under Kurdish control. But Baghdad is against such an arrangement.

The two major parties are on good terms with each other. But they did not find a common language with the Workers' Party in Turkey. Not long ago Jellal Talibani accused the Workers' Party of kidnapping tourists and carrying out terrorist actions. "Its activity is harmful to the Kurdish movement," he said. "If the Workers' Party persists in activity of this kind we shall possibly take the side of Turkey."

For its part, the Workers' Party shows hostility towards the major parties of the Kurdish movement in Iraq, believing that they have only minor disputes with the Iraqi leadership over the Kirkuk oil-fields and do not think about independence.

During the Turkish military operations in border areas Kurdish families rushed about the border zone, afraid to move either to Turkey or Iraq. A Kurd from Iraq complained to me: "Everyone is concerned about the Palestinians. Their problem is not comparable, however, to the way we are treated here. I wish we had such invaders as they do. We would have reached agreement with them on all points long ago."

Dmitry Zgersky



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The Nuremberg Trial: off the record

A Soviet delegation translator recalls some dramatic and amazing episodes

Olga Svidovskaya

The greatest impression I have from the Nuremberg Trial for myself was my participation in the secret bringing of the former Fieldmarshall Paulus from the Soviet occupation zone to Nuremberg, in the American zone.

Paulus in the witness stand

Several days before February 11, 1946 – the day when Soviet prosecutors shocked the Tribunal by calling Paulus as their witness – I was addressed with the confidential request to help bring Paulus and Manstein from Berlin to Nuremberg with not a soul knowing about it.

To enter the US occupation zone one needed a visa. We considered several different ways to get visas. I even suggested that the name of Paulus be typed in the application form with deliberate mistakes – after all it is always possible to misspell a German name in English. In case of a failure, there would always be a person to blame – me. After some consideration this variant was rejected and the final decision was to apply for visas for General Aleksandrov and "ten accompanying persons." It was also decided that I would go and submit the application. The operation was kept top secret. Knowing that the Americans rarely stayed at the office after working hours I suggested that we go to the visa office five minutes before the closing time on Saturday February 9, exactly at 1:55 p.m.

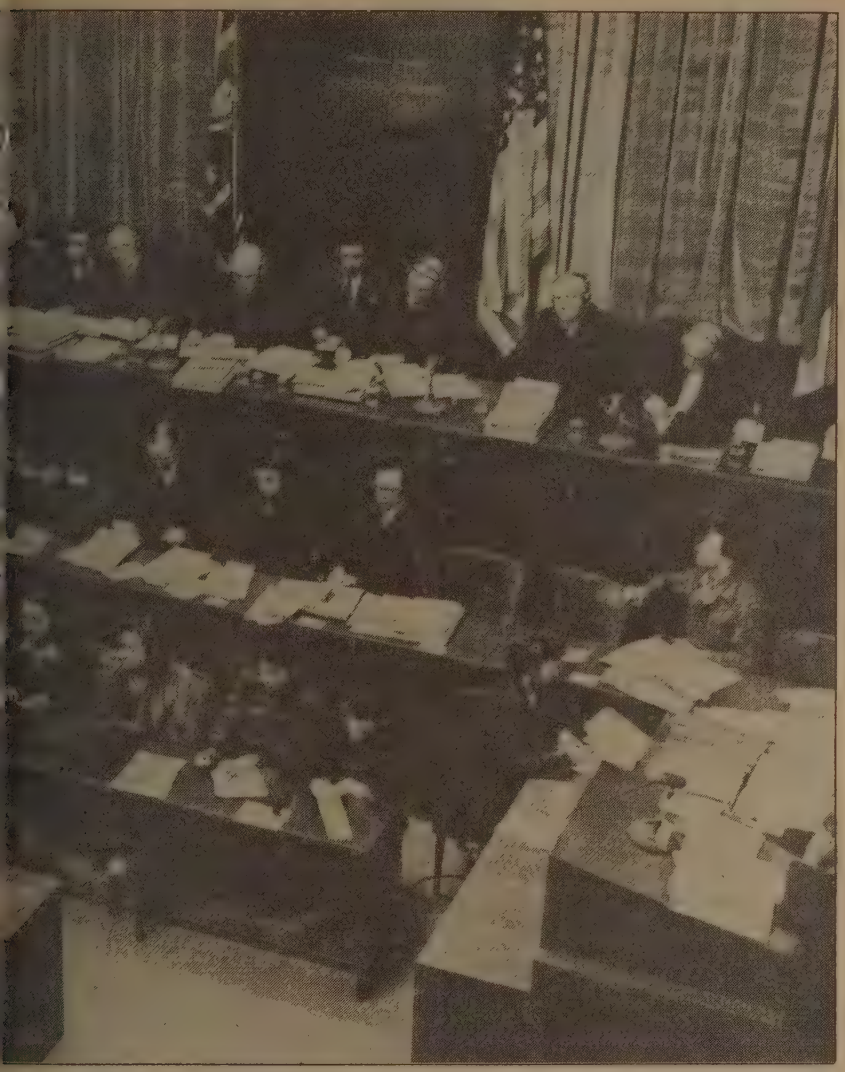
The American visa office occupied a large room. A long desk spanned the width of the room and there were two chairs in front of it. The Americans – all young men – were all there. It was 1:55 p.m. The officer who usually stamped documents cursed as he saw me. Others started to shout something. I tried to joke back. I felt sick with horror, and I tried to conceal it by chatting all the time. When the US officer took out the keys and unlocked the drawer with stamps my heart sank. I very well remember how he stamped the visa forms one by one. Then he shoved the visa office copies into the drawer gave the visa forms to me and I left the room accompanied by the chatter.

To take Paulus into the Palace of Justice we neded a special pass. Such passes – paper cards with blue and white stripes – were issued by the Americans through the group I worked with. Soviet representatives were coming and going all the time and as a result we had an ample supply of extra passes. To take Paulus in I took one of my passes and got into the car next to the driver's seat. The Americans at the checkpoint knew me and did not usually check my pass.

February 11, 1946, Nuremberg. Fieldmarshall Paulus

In case the Americans discovered a mistake I could excuse myself referring to my unpardonable negligence. The Americans knew perfectly well that I had several passes – they issued them to me themselves. In case our mission failed, it would be better to be accused of negligence than of trying to smuggle Paulus in using a false pass issued to a third person.

I waved my pass at the American quards and we drove past the checkpoint. I do not remember now who of the Soviet delegation leaders was in the car with Paulus. Later I gave that pass as a souvenir to General Aleksandrov who asked me for it, together with my yellow pass to the courtroom.



in the witness stand (left), Olga Svidovskaya stands near the prosecutor's platform to the right

Having passed the checkpoint, we took Paulus to the Soviet section and made him comfortable in General Aleksandrov's office. We left him with one of our interpreters, Polina Dubrovitskaya, and headed for the courtroom, locking the office door to be on the safe side.

One more detail. I used to have a friend in Moscow who worked for the military counterintelligence SMERSH. He usually wore a civilian suit with a pale-green crepe-de-chine shirt, a dark tie, a long dark coat and a dark-gray hat.

The room I occupied in Nuremberg overlooked the central entrance to the Soviet delegation's residence. When Paulus was brought in I went out to the balcony and was astonished to see my Moscow friend from SMERSH getting out of the car: the same coat, sirt, suit and tie. It turned out that both my friend and Paulus were provided with clothes through one and the same store.

A scroll from the American zinc can

For some time I worked as a translator helping the Soviet prosecutor's assistant, Lev Sheynin, prepare his papers. Once someone asked me to "go to the Americans" and ask whether they had any material concerning Rudolf Hess. I remember the Soviet delegation leaders saying that the Allies had not given us all the material on him. We had at our disposal a great many facts, but the main Nazi archives were in the Western occupation zones and we lacked some documents on which to build the prosecution.

"Go to the Americans. They know more and they may help you get something on Hess," I was told. I did as I was asked. Two young American officers were in the archives building. They took a zinc can with a screw-on lid from one of the shelves, produced something that looked like a scroll and gave it to me. I do not remember whether I confirmed the receipt of the scroll in writing, but I do not think I did. The scroll consisted of a great number of long telegraph sheets. When I brought it and started translating it silence set in. Then I was asked to translate the documents in writing as accurately as possible.

The document was enough to accuse the top British politicians of having tried to make a deal with Hitler without Soviet knowledge. I was told that the document would be immediately sent to Moscow, directly to Stalin, and asked to forget all that I had just translated.

What kind of a document was that? It was a top secret message from Hess to Hitler on the results of the former's talks in Britain. As an obedient servicewoman, I tried to forget about its contents as soon as possible. The only thing I do remember is a long list of British lords, peers and industrialists, who declared their readiness to assist Hitler both financially and economically. It was then that I clearly understood that not all people in Britain were interested in our victory in the Second World War.

I heard that the Americans raised hue and cry claiming that the Soviet delegation had received the documents by deception and even demanded that the culprit be extradited to them. To be on the safe side, I was locked in my apartment for a couple of days. The two American officers, however, sincrely admitted that they had given me the document of their own free will and as part of their service. I was "released." I was not to meet the Americans again: they disappeared. After some time I was thanked on behalf of Stalin. Many years later, when I went to the Law Research Institute to consult Mark Raginsky about the correctness of my recollections about Paulus and Nuremberg, I askeds him about the document, but he did not know anything about it.

Certainly, the fate of that document worries me. They say that the fact from that document – as far as I remember them – are no secret. But what if that document – a piece of graphic evidence of British double-dealing – is still locked in some archive?

People in the dock

What kind of people were the accused and how did they behave in the courtroom?

The former foreign minister, Ribbentrop, suddenly became very old and very untidy. He looked around himself with a stare full of

*** Lev Sheynin, Special Cases Investigator of the USSR Procurator's Office and a popular crime novel writer. Notorious for his participation in the political trials of "enemies of the people" (editor's note).**

hatred. After Robert Ley killed himself in his cell, shoe laces and ties were taken away from the prisoners and Ribbentrop walked dragging along his too big shoes. As far as I remember he was the only once in the dock who raised his hand in the Nazi salute whenever the name of Hitler was mentioned, at least in the beginning of the trial. Like Rosenberg, Ribbentrop was writing his memoirs in prison. The book of Ribbentrop's reminiscences was published in the United States and Britain immediately after the author's execution.

Hermann Göring, Nazi No.2, was sitting comfortably like a monstrous hulk. He wore a dark blue and white polka-dot kerchief instead of a tie. Göring regarded the hall with an attentive stare and often winked at women, myself included. Never in my life had I seen a man of that size. One could see holes on his tunic left by numerous decorations. His stare was horrible and dark, but he was obviously not afraid – or at least he concealed his fear. He was hoping for something. As time passed, Göring was losing weight and soon his tunic hung loosely on his shoulders. However, his enormous strength remained unimpaired.

Sentenced to death by hanging, Göring killed himself by swallowing potassium cyanide in his cell several hours before the executioners came. There were several versions about how he got the poison. One foreign journalist insisted that he had managed to get into the courtroom before the session started and fixed the lethal ampule to the dock with the help of some chewing gum. This could hardly be true. Our leadership believed that Göring's wife who arrived in Nuremberg several days before the execution, supplied the poison via an American guard whom she bribed, which was not very difficult really.

Diplomat-and-spy von Papen sat somewhat away from the rest and very quietly. He recognized Sheynin from among other Soviet representatives and to the latter's sheer horror bowed to him. Sheynin and von Papen had previously met in Tehran. Von Papen was acquitted of all charges.

Hans Frank, Gauleiter of Poland, emitted waves of almost supernatural cruelty. He looked like a vampire with his grayish face and it seemed there was blood on his dark thin lips. I attended one of the interrogations of Frank conducted by Likhachev. I was placed in the corner of the room to the left from the window behind a screen and was asked not to make a sound. Likhachev was seated with his back to the window at a heavy desk. There was a huge writing set on the desk. Frank sat down on the other side of the desk facing Likhachev and the light. Likhachev offered him a cigarette. There was a sheet of paper with a list of questions on the desk before Likhachev. I do not remember the questions that Likhachev asked except one: "Is it true that you ordered the decimation of villagers suspected of aiding resistance fighters?" Casting an icy look at Likhachev Frank asked curtly: "What would you have done in my place?"

Nuremberg 1946. Olga Svidovskaya in the Palace of Justice

Photos from the author's archive

Likhachev strictly followed the sequence of questions on the list. I was surprised to observe that. It seemed unprofessional to me: I thought that the interrogator should listen to the suspect's answers and then ask new questions depending on what the suspect had just said. The way Lichachev conducted the interrogation did not impress me as something professional or talented.

Once, as he read out one more questions, Likhachev lowered his balding head to the desk. One should have seen Frank freeze immediately with his hand holding a burning cigarette halfway from his lips. His eyes were immediately fixed on the big writing set which was right in front of him and his whole body tensed as that of a predator ready to charge. At one moment I was on the verge of crying out fearing that Frank would smash Likhachev's scull, but Likhachev raised his head and Frank relaxed.

As is known, Hitler's right hand, Rudolf Hess, faced trial insane. Sitting in the dock he kept fumbling with his set of headphones pressing it against his ears, cheeks, nose, placing it on his knees or thrusting it under his armpit or raising it above him. In other words he did anything but listen to the sumultaneous translation of the court session. Hess stared in front of himself or to the side dumbly, like an ape.

His answers to the questions were incoherent. The tribunal started wondering whether Hess was sane, and if not, could he be tried at all?

I happened to translate the minutes of the confrontation between Göring and Hess. Göring kept appealing to Hess' memory recalling a bucolic meeting at sunset in the mountains with idyllic singing of birds where their wives were by their sides... "Do you remember, Rudolf?", Göring was asking. Rudolf did not.

Psychiatrists from all over the world came to Nuremberg for a consilium. The Soviet Union was represented by Krasnushkin, Sepp and Kurshakov. I was to assist them as an interpreter. The examination was to take place in one of the Nazi conference halls – a very dark place with circular rows of seats. Protruding in the middle was the rectangular central box and directly in front of it was a screen. Everybody was asked not to cough or sneeze or otherwise betray his presence. The lights were turned off and an unending marathon of Nazi films began on the screen. Parades, burning of books, gigantic meetings, crowds shouting "Heil Hitler" celebrating one more victory... Hess, in full bloom of his past career was to be seen in every film.

When it was already dark and the films were on. Hess was escorted to the hall. After some time when Hess was immersed in memories of the past a bright beam of light was directed at him. The idea was to catch him off-guard, but Hess face remained expressionless. As far as I understood the experiment failed. I did not happen to translate any more examinations. As is known, Hess declared himself sane after he had seen that he would be allowed to live.

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* At that time the author did not know, of course, that it was a meeting of two butchers.

Mikhail Likhachev was one of the closest associates of Lavrenty Beria and the then State Security Minister, Abakumov. Before the war Likhachev took an active part in the arrests and interogations of Soviet intelligence officers who warned about the German plans to attack the USSR. After the war he was a leading figure behind the political trials of the late 1940s – early 1950s. After Lavrenty Beria's fall. Likhachev and Abakumov were court-martialled and shot. (Editor's note).

Hunters...

I cannot be sure about others, but I did not have much fun in Nuremberg.

Once rumours spread about a planned hunt. Men dressed themselves in hunters' costumes and cleaned and greased their rifles. I watched these preparations rather skeptically. It seemed to me that they were all pretending to be experienced hunters, but had in fact never hunted before.

Once we came to the place the chief prosecutor, Rudenko and I were assigned to act as bearers. We were to move through the forest some distance from each other in one and the same direction and to shout something like "Trr-rr-rraargh!"

The hunt started. The forest was not very dense and very beautiful. Shots were heard here and there. The impression was that the hunters were firing in all directions at once. Shouting "Trrr-rrargh!" as loud as I could I was looking around me all the time fearing a stray bullet. Rudenko, who struggled through some thick shrubbery in his long leather coat seemed to have the same fears, for very soon the distance between us started to disappear until we finally marched side by side.

Suddenly a young doe rushed from the bush. The beautiful young beast was trembling trying to shield its scared calf. We stopped abruptly. It was impossible to let them die. I suddenly forgot all about my personal safety and started running about the meadow shouting: "Don't shoot! Rudenko's here! Don't shoot!" The shooting stopped and the doe vahished. I am not sure how Rudenko felt, but I was really happy.

Nobody killed anything. After dark the hunters decided to return home. On our way home we had a great dinner in some hunter's lodge in the woods. The hunters were not exactly enthusiastic about the prospect of returning to Nuremberg with no trophies. They were all irritated and angry. To their delight a hare appeared on the highway illuminated with our car's headlights. The hare was running in front of the car for a long time, until the car finally ran it down. The hunters made several shots at it "just to be sure". When they returned home, they tried to convince each other that actually, the only purpose of the hunt had been to relax and take a stroll in the woods rather than to shoot any game.

... and bosses

The most charming of my bosses in Nuremberg was Chief Investigator Georgy Aleksandrov whom we nicknamed George. Aleksandrov was my first high-ranking superior. And he was the best one, too. The combination of boyish recklessness and high responsibility made him an outstanding person. It was remarkably easy and pleasant to work with him.

In Nuremberg we were supplied by the Americans. After some time we managed to get accustomed to the American food.

Bread was the only serious problem. The American bread was very white, very puffy and with raisins. We used to eat anyuthing, including salted herring with bread with raisins. it was absolutely impossible to get used to that bread.

Once when I called Moscow, I asked them to send me some things including two loaves of Moscow rye bread. I hid the loaves in a suitcase and locked it in my wardrobe. I always carried the keys to the suitcase and the wardrobe with me.

At dinner we were suddenly served herring with... rye bread. Me heart sank: in the morning I had been careless enough to boast of having real Moscow brown bread in the presence of Aleksandrov. I looked around me. The faces of other diners wore the expression of absolute innocence. I rushed out from the dining room and up the stairs to my room. The wardrobe was open, so was the suitcase and the loaves were gone... Naturally, it was George who organized and led the bread requisitioning operation. Some of his practical jokes could land one in a really embarassing situation.

How Vyshinsky pirated my vase

I have been fond of crystal since childbood. When I was in a small town near Nuremberg I bought a beautiful old crystal vase from a second-hand shop. The vase had been brought from Russia.

Imagine a silver fisherman pulling a silver net over which crystal waves are splashing. There was also a tiny silver fish atop the wave.

Everybody envied me. There was nothing we could spend money on in Nuremberg. Actually, money was worthless for us.

When Vyshinsky came to Nuremberg from Moscow, the Soviet delegation arranged a reception for him. Vyshinsky specially asked that all bottles remain uncorked until the dinner started and I was asked to watch bottles.

While everybody was fussing around the table Vyshinsky came in. He looked around swiftly and was obviously pleased. Having mistaken me for a German waitress he patten me on the cheek. I got angry.

This was not the end, though. Fruit was served and everybody wanted it served in a beautiful vase. Someone remembered the vase I had bought. The vase was a sensation. I did not suspect it was the last time I would see it. When Vyshinsky left Nuremberg he took the vase to Moscow with him. Nobody dared tell him that the vase was actually somebody else's property.

Selling cigarettes to buy a trip to Moscow

In the spring of 1946 I asked my superiors to let me go home. Aleksandrov came to see me off at the American air base. Interpreter Kulakovskaya was going to Moscow with me. We were accompanied by the Georgian Germanologist Mikhail Kveselava whom I called "prince". Had it not been for him, we would have been in for trouble in Berlin.

It was a military plane. When we boarded it we did not pay any attention to some bulky cargo in the tail section. It was promised that the plane would fly non-stop all the way to Moscow, but the plane landed in Berlin and we were told to buy tickets and get on a passenger plane to Moscow. We had no money.

Night was coming. It was raining in Berlin and the streets were terribly slimy. We had no phone numbers to call and no people to turn to for help. Moreover, it was suggested that we pay for the Nuremberg—Berlin haul of the dissassembled car which was the tail section cargo and of which we did know nothing.

Kveselava disappeared somewhere and there were no other passengers in sight. The air-port was dimly lit and empty. We felt hungry. After some time Kveselava returned with a car. We got into the car and went to a friend of Kveselava's.

The friend occupied a very large flat that looked like a private second-hand goods store crammed with used lamps, furniture, utensils, etc. To raise money for the tickets, the host said, you must sell something. US-made cigarettes were the most sought-after commodity in Berlin.

In Nuremberg members of delegations were supplied with all kinds of necessary things, such as pencils, toothpaste, brushes, soap, pens, and cigarettes on a weekly ration basis. I did not smoke and I had a considerable stock of cigarettes as a result. I decided to take it home, the more so as I did not have much other luggage. Besides, I had some perfume I later presented to friends in Moscow. I also carried some confectionaries, including horribly sticky plum candies and 24 pairs of American nylon stockings which were noted for their strength. Our enterprising host taught me to sew the stockings under the lining of my American-made imitation mink coat in order not to say good-buy to them at the Moscow customs posts.

We sold some of the cigarettes and bought the tickets. We refused, however, to pay DM 24,000 for the haul of the dissassembled car. It turned out in Moscow that it was Lev Sheynin's plan to get the car transported to the USSR.

Prepared for publication by
Anatoly Weisman

"Looking at the pawn one guesses where the queen stands..."

This is a line from Iosif Brodsky's verse. But the topic I am going to deal with is earthly and quite prosaic

The Czecho-Slovak Ministry of Foreign Affairs organized a trip of foreign correspondents to Jablonec nad Nisou. Established back in the middle ages, the town is now mostly known in the world for its imitation jewelry. Viewing wide expanses of valleys alternating with mountain ridges I was a little surprised at such a choice given the present turbulent political life in the country. Bratislava keeps on raving about Slovak sovereignty, Prague is disputing a new law which has already been labeled a ban on professions, the whole country is discussing new steps in economic reform, people feel uneasy in anticipation of a new price rise, and they take journalists to another tourist attraction – or take us away from the developments?

Trifles

Jablonec was imprinted on my mind as a town of apple gardens dappled with opalescent colours in the autumn sun, and bright bijou products of Preciosa which made it famous in the world. Once Jablonec turned out real precious stones which were mined in the mountains nearby. Then they made an attempt at imitation jewelry and scored a success. Preciosa now ranks second to an Austrian company which was actually set up by a native from these parts.

Recollecting this trip I think that it somewhat crowns my observations which I intend to share with the reader – I mean those miscelaneous things which help one enjoy lifes pleasures. Trifles will be trifles but "looking at the pawn one guesses where the queen stands" or "seeing a strip of land far off one knows he is on board a ship." Once I went out to see that the street was decorated with three bright hemispheres standing side by side. Today such snow-white, bright-blue and fresh green beads decorate every street in Prague. But they are just litter bins: for paper, common and coloured glass. Empty bottles have always been accepted in any shop in Czecho-Slovakia but there are also other things made of glass and they naturally had their place, too. Large metal bins could become a decoration in Moscow streets which are as littered as they have even been, and maybe even more so, despite the promisess of the new Moscow authorities. But Prague decided it could afford to sprend foreign currency to buy new ones – they are more economical and esthetic.

Of course, thrift is a national characteristic. Remember how surprised I was by one of the accusations against our troops' actions in Prague which Frantisec Janouch put forth in his book *I Do Not Regret* dedicated to the 1968 events: "A newly paved road was ground by tank caterpillars." Possibly it is not a trifle for a civilized man. The first thing the author of the book noticed in Austria, to where he had fled from our tanks, was that the Austrians transport tanks on platforms: "not to spoil the highway." Quite recently I watched a TV programme and saw how confused foreign builders were when they noticed a farm tractor on the highway they had just built in the Moscow region: the young driver was going on without even looking back at the crushed asphalt.

The thriftiness of foreigners was often something literally foreign to our mentality: "Those greedy Germans (or Americans, French, Czechs)!" And once I came across a heading in a Prague newspaper which ran: "Offered Free." People offered for free anything one could imagine: from children's wear to fridges of the old make – someone may find them handy. Such are the acts of everyday individual charity – without newspaper highlights and special TV programmes. Not intruding, maybe somehow gay, but in no way humiliating. Even Namibia came up with an ingenious idea: to set a Guinness record for cooking the world's longest barbecue and spend the money made on it for charity. The barbecue was shown in a movie while those who got the money were not. Why humiliate human dignity? That's the best side of the "Offered Free" column – it takes only two to meet.

But tell me where in this country one can buy or sell a second-hand thing for a token price? Especially now that the number of poor has grown and the number of second-hand stores is almost nil. All stores have gone commercial. Only brand-new foreign-made things are accepted, and only from friends. And they sell at exorbitant prices. We argue about global problems and right we are that we only argue. New laws should be right and new powers should be broad, but there are a lot of trifles that do not need new laws or plenipotentiary powers – the only thing they need is a mere understanding of another's cares and seeing from his point of view to make his life easier and more enjoyable.

Vivre pour vivre

Recently hundreds of people – from kids to grown-ups – were flying kites on Letenska plan in Prague not far from the

place where thirty years ago the statue of "Father of All Nations" was looming high in the sky. The kites were of every shape and colour. Putting business aside, the city authorities announced a competition thus reviving the old tradition. They also honored another tradition which has been preserved through the years – the closing ritual of the Prague Spring musical festival. First, musicians of high renown play in the ancient majestic hall to a large audience dressed for the occasion and who paid quite a sum for admission. Then the musicians go out to the balcony to play for passersby. I don't know whose applause the musicians valued more – that of the experts or of the common people. But for the passersby looking back at the musicians it was surely sort of festive. Apart from this there are many things that may cheer people in the street: a lot of flowers blossoming right outside for the passersby and not for their owner on his window sill, numerous colourful ad stands, cafés, confectioneries, department stores... I understand that people who are not hungry fly kites more readily, although consumption in Czecho-Slovakia has dropped and the number of the unemployed increased. Nevertheless, you come across one bench after another – putting a bench is not so hard a job. Why then are there so few of them in the streets of our towns?

Several streets of Prague lead to parks. In a park I saw a little girl who was picking up chestnuts placing them neatly in a basket. "What do you need so many for?" I asked. "But it's not many at all. When I collect a great many of them I'll go to the zoo. Free of charge. Chestnuts will be my ticket." A game? Not only. The habit originates from saving a little. Many a little makes a mickle.

For several months now the General Czecho-Slovak Exhibition has been open. I seems unwise to build new pubs, cafés, pavilions and the like at a time of stringent economic reform when every penny counts. But how marvellous are the musical fountain which attract thousands of people every evening. Children's laughter in Disneyland is just fascinating. Light exquisite structures catch the eye. And again a minor thing stuck me: the colourful exhibition guidebook concluded that the exhibition was specially adapted to be visited by invalids.

"It will not pay out!" said one of my colleagues, trying to cool me down. "But it will!" I protested. First of all because it is a continuation of tradition, such exhibitions are arranged once in a hundred years. People need a feeling of stability and continuity, a connection with their past. One cannot always feed on mental pebulum alone. Life is too politicized and Prague is no exception. Among other things, or rather above all, man must live, simply live, love, raise children, have his leisure, tend a garden of his own, have fun and laugh at jokes, and not only at political satire. Leaving the exhibition you run into a large poster: "You are welcome back in 2991!" One cannot but smile. One can't help laughing to hear that among the multitude of parties there is also a pub party. Laughter as a decontaminant. "We wish we had their cares!" my countrymen might object. Others would retort: "Let us gain full

democracy first and then we will set to and do the trifles." But democracy and civil society are not merely the collapse of old structures. It is a community of "various associations and unions organized on the basis of most diverse individual, often minor, interests. For instance, in Austria they total about 70,000." This is what Zdenek Mlynar, a well-known political scientist, thinks. Thus a little grows up to a mickle.

No mean temperature

"A Little and a Mickle" is the title of Capek's story. "Little things appeal to man's tenderness while big things evoke only respect." "An ocean cannot serve as entertainment while an aquarium can." A simple but wise observation. When in Capek's museum that is not far from Prague, in the town of Strz, I was amazed by the confidence in life, respect for anything that is earthly and simple, and by the poetic spirit that reigned there. Yes, he fought fascism and cultivated cactuses, wrote philosophical stories and plays and photograghed the "most related things" (the title of one of his stories) – splippers, valises, flowers... There, in Capek's house, I learned that his books had been banned not only by fascists but by Czech Communists, too, until Nikita Krushchev dropped Capek's name in one of his speeches. They couldn't forgive him his article "Why I am not a Communist." In addition to such unpleasant things as "to rule rather than save" (regarding the goals), "fire in the house rather than houses on fire" (regarding the means of struggle) the article carried a stunning statement: "What is most shocking and inhuman about communism is its primordial grimness." "The climate of communism is inhospitable and inhumane it knows no mean temperature between the bourgeois freeze and the revolutionary flame."

This mean temperature is exactly what I am about. It may not be quite good for heroes (or criminals) but it is a *sine qua non* for the man in the street and his everyday life. And what is so funny about it is that although Communists have lost power the mean temperature is as yet wanted and the prospects are quite grim. No sooner had the deputies dismantled the barricades near the White House than they erected them between themselves. Instead of starting to fight famine in the country right after the victory, the deputies themselves announced a hunger strike. Alas, the old scale of priorities sticks so far, despite the fact that man's priority has been declared. All right, we are going through a difficult transition period – but why should it be so ugly and repugnant? It seems that the once defamed theory of "little things" is not yet in favour. Litter in the streets, delayed post, poor transport, a broken bulb in the doorway, no drugs in the drug store – who cares about such things today? We need something sublime like an assault on barricades, an ocean instead of an aquarium.

...As our bus was moving away from Jablonec, as majestic mountain ridges were alternating with green valleys, the guide who occupied the front seat turned around to us gaily shaking her head as if to show off her new earrings – not expensive but really nice.

Inna Rudenko,
our own correspondent
PRAGUE

Drawing by Neprakta (Czecho-Slovakia)

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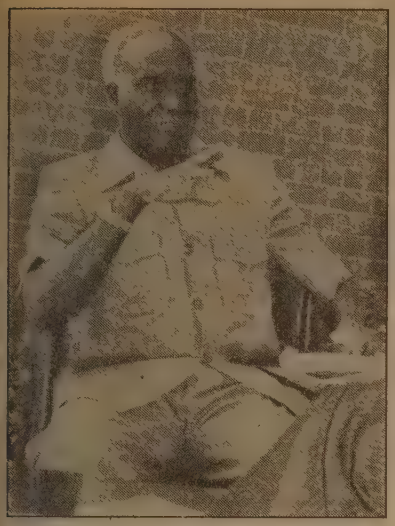
Kenneth Kaunda's Legacy

Zambians opt for pluralism



Out: Kenneth Kaunda

In: Frederick Chiluba

After he voted for the ruling United National Independence Party (UNIP), President Kenneth Kaunda, Zambia's leader since the country's independence, went to play golf telling journalists:

"I am sure I will win this game and the elections..."

He did win the game of golf and lost the elections.

About three million Zambians came to the polls to choose between the one-party system represented by the Kaunda party and pluralism advocated by the opposition united in the election block for multi-party democracy. 80 percent of Zambians said "yes" to reforms and radical change of the old system. The seats in parliament were distributed accordingly. The Movement for Multi-party Democracy won 118 seats, while the UNIP only 21. After the elections, one of the UNIP leaders, General Benjamin Mibenge noted bitterly:

"Our defeat is not a result of a poorly organized election campaign as it is being portrayed now. It is the one-party system and its leaders that were defeated. Zambians want changes. The UNIP defeat is the success of the nation."

Kenneth Kaunda, 67, who has led the nation since Zambia became independent in 1964 has been replaced by trade union leader Frederick Chiluba, 48.

In their speeches following the announcement of the election results both leaders expressed satisfaction with the peaceful and constitutional passage of power. Meanwhile, international observers, headed by former US President Jimmy Carter, arrived in Lusaka. The elections in Zambia can provide a good example for other Third World nations which are still dreaming about pluralism...

What legacy has Kaunda left?

The republic and its leader enjoy a great international respect and authority. Zambia has always been active in the struggle for peace, collective security, and the creation of a new world order. Kenneth Kaunda was twice elected chairman of the Organization of African Unity.

As the leader of the regional integration of the front-line states, Kaunda has for many years been a consistent advocate of a peaceful settlement in the south of Africa. He has done much to assist the national liberation movements of South Africa and has been known as a harsh critic of apartheid and racism.

I happened to participate in the meeting of Kenneth Kaunda and South African President Frederik de Klerk in Livingstone two years ago. At that time de Klerk had just come to head the Nationalist Party. The courage of the Zambian leader who was the first African statesman to meet "the envoy of racists" was not accepted by his regional colleagues. Some of them even anathemized Kaunda. Today, however, his prophetic words about the faith in de Klerk and racism-free and democratic South Africa have become the motto of many leaders in the south of Africa.

President Kaunda did not only made the first step to meet the South African President, he also regularly mediated during talks between irreconsilable enemies in Ethiopia and Chad... In his domestic policies, Kaunda was successful in harmonizing the interests of tribes living in Zambia. Under Kaunda Zambia knew no tribal strife which is so common for the rest of Africa.

At the same time, Kaunda usurped power in the country only to become a hostage of that power. The president's totalitarian rule combined with some pro-socialist slant has paralysed the national economy. Once one of Africa's richest nations, Zambia has become one of the world's ten poorest nations.

The foreign debt of Zambia has reached US $7.8 billion. Hyperinflation results in monstrous unemployment – one million people are jobless out of Zambia's total population of seven million.

Frederick Chiluba and his team plan to carry out radical economic reforms, to privatize and de-nationalize basic industries, including copper ore mines, as soon as possible. They also intend to quickly re-orient the economy to the free market principles and close cooperation with the West.

Kenneth Kaunda's personal tragedy is that he is unable to understand the essence of change going on in the world. He maintains loyalty to "Zambian humanism" and "the African model of socialism." Now the opposition leader, Kenneth Kaunda is going to return to his villa in Chinsali and resume the struggle for power.

However, it seems that his time is hopelessly past.

Nikolai Reshetnyak,
our own correspondent

PRETORIA–LUSAKA

Photo by the author and TASS

NT INVESTIGATES

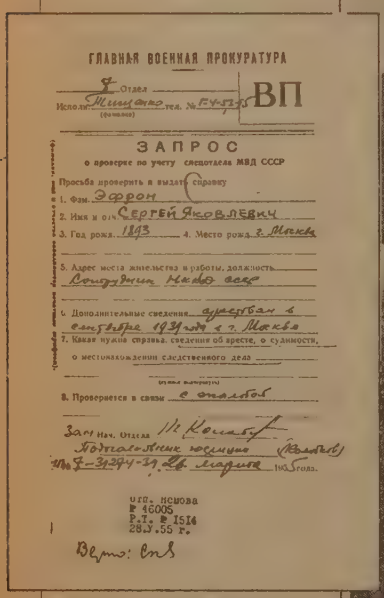
Everyone considered him a spy

But it seems he was not...

The documents found by our staff writer in the archives of the Chief Military Prosecutor's Office show how the NKVD (People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs) framed the husband of the well-known Russian poetess Marina Tsvetayeva and her daughter Ariadna...

Lev Yelin

"To the Chief Military Prosecutor's Office. Secret.
Please check and give information.
Surname: Efron, also Andreyev.
First name and patronymic: Sergei Yakovlevich.
Address, place of work, job: an employee of the NKVD of the USSR.
Additional information: arrested in September 1939, Moscow.



ГЛАВНАЯ ВОЕННАЯ ПРОКУРАТУРА

I Отдел ВП

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ЗАПРОС

о проверке по учету следотдела МВД СССР

Просьба проверить и выдать справку

1. Фам. Эфрон

2. Имя и отч. Сергей Яковлевич

3. Год рожд. 1893 4. Место рожд. г. Москва

5. Адрес места жительства и работы, должность Оперуполн. НКВД СССР

6. Дополнительные сведения. арестован в сентябре 1939 года в г. Москве

7. Какие нужны справки, сведения об аресте, о судимости, о местонахождении следственного дела

(цель выяснения)

8. Проверяется в связи с обыском

Зам. Нач. Отдела полковник юстиции (Колобков)

№ 7-31294-39 26 марта 1955 г.

Отп. 4 экз.
Р 46005
Р.Т. № 1514
28.3.55 г.

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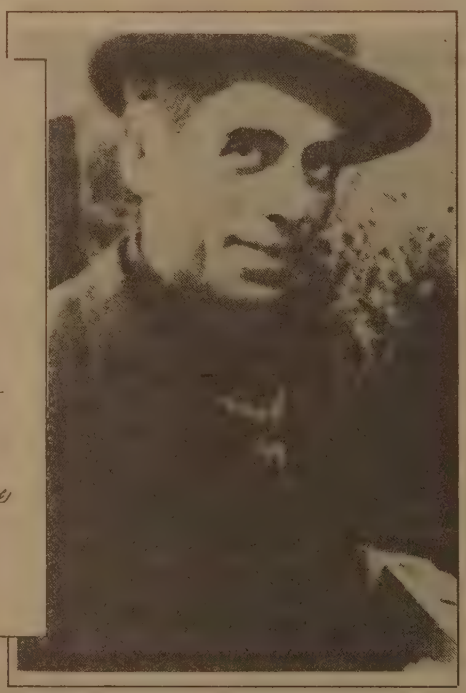

Sergei Efron in 1937. He thought that he should expiate his guilt before his homeland. But did Efron become a regular employee of the NKVD?

To the Chief Military Prosecutor's Office. Secret.
Please check and give information.
Surname: Efron, also Andreyev.
First name and patronymic: Sergei Yakovlevich.
Address, place of work, job: an employee of the NKVD of the USSR.
Additional information: arrested in September 1939, Moscow.

Colonel of justice (Kolobkov), March 26, 1955.
Information on the results of checking.
Efron, also Andreyev, arrested on October 10, 1939 as a French spy by the Investigation Department of the NKGB (People's Commissariat for State Security).
Sentenced by the Military Board of the Supreme Court of the USSR on August 6, 1941, under Article 58-I-a of the Criminal Code to capital punishment with the confiscation of the property.
Executed on October 16, 1941..."

...Historians and literary critics (they could hardly avoid joining the dispute, for Sergei Efron was the husband of the eminent poetess Marina Tsvetayeva) have been unable to agree on the part he played in the NKVD. Were his hands stained with blood or was he merely a victim of the circumstances, a Russian emigrant who had mixed up such notions as love for his native country, serving the motherland, and the duty of a Russian intellectual? The documents, found with the help of the Chief Military Prosecutor's Office, do not answer all these questions. However, they allow us to judge how close Sergei Efron and his daughter Ariadna were to those who later threw them into prison...

Indictment on case No. 644 under investigation
July "?," 1940
The NKVD of the USSR received information showing that a group of white emigrants arrived in Moscow from Paris on the instructions of the French intelligence service with the aim of engaging in espionage activities against the Soviet Union. The group consists of S.Y. EFRON-ANDREYEV, P.N. TOLSTOY, N.A. KLEPININ-LVOV, A.N. KLEPININA-LVOVA, E.E. LITAUER and N.V. AFANASOV.
It was established in the course of preliminary investigation that the members of the group actively engaged in anti-Soviet activity long before they arrived in the USSR.
For instance, EFRON-ANDREYEV, prosecuted in the given case, joined the struggle against the Soviet government right after the October (1917) revolution.
After the victory of Soviet government in Moscow he went to the south, volunteered for the White Army under the command of

General DENIKIN, and served as an officer of the White Army during the civil war, taking an active part in battles against the Red Army. In 1920... he fled abroad (Marina Tsvetayeva joined him in Berlin in the autumn of 1922, and the family then moved to France. – **L.Y.**).

Exactly so. However, Sergei Efron, who came from a family sharing the views of the People's Freedom organization (he told his friends that at the age of seven he "hid a bomb in his trousers"), and was a maximalist prepared to sacrifice everything for the sake of the noble idea, as it seemed to him, did not remain faithful to the "White Movement idea."

Efron felt keenly the return of his friends to Russia. The people who held the same views as he thought that they should expiate their guilt before the motherland and refused to believe awful stories about Stalin-ruled Russia. The achievements of socialism were indisputable. Was it worth listening therefore to those ill-wishers who forgot their nation and its aspirations while living in a prosperous foreign country?

In 1931 Sergei Efron applied to have his Soviet citizenship restored...

> "The investigation revealed that all persons indicted in the given case came to Paris at different times and joined the anti-Soviet white-guard 'Eurasian' organization intent on uniting people discontented with the Soviet government both abroad and inside the USSR with the aim of overthrowing the Soviet government and restoring capitalism in the USSR."

The "Eurasian" philosophical trend appeared among Russian emigrants in the early 1920s, and our magazine will soon carry an article about it in Manuscripts Do Not Burn column. Such Eurasians as G. Florovsky, N. Trubetskoy, P. Savitsky and P. Suvchinsky were first of all anti-Westernizers. "The communist raging broke out in Russia as a consummation of the more than 200-year period of its Europeanization," wrote P. Savitsky, a geographer and political scientist.

Eurasianism quickly ceased to be a homogeneous trend. By the mid-1920s some of its followers had virtually recognized "the new Russian way," that is, Bolshevism. Sergei Efron was among them.

Operation Trust

> An extract from the bill of indictment:
> "The Eurasian organization had its periodicals: the newspaper *Eurasia* and the magazine *Versty* (Miles), both financed by the Intelligence Service. The latter passed on money to the Eurasian organization through its agent, British millionaire SPALDING. A part of the circulation of the newspaper *Eurasia* and the magazine *Versty* was distributed abroad and the rest of it was smuggled through Eurasian emissaries into the Soviet Union and disseminated there. Between 1927 and 1929 Vladislav IVANOV, Pyotr ARAPOV and AKSAKOV came to the Soviet Union as emissaries of the Eurasian organization with Eurasian periodicals and counterrevolutionary leaflets."

The authors of the indictment lightly operate with names and facts. They were indeed well known to the NKVD. However, the essence of the matter is turned exactly upside down.

The NKVD, and previously the OGPU, quickly saw possibilities for its work among "left" emigrants. NKVD agents infiltrated into the Eurasian movement (Operation

Ignaty Reiss was one of the NKVD's most valuable agents in the 1930s. It is believed that his assassination in Lausanne was organized by Yezhov

Trust) with the help of Russian emigrant Pyotr Arapov. In the summer of 1924 they organized his "illegal" trip to the USSR. Thanks to it he gained respect among many Eurasians. Shortly after that Arapov introduced some Malevsky-Malevich to the organization. The latter allegedly received 10,000 pounds from rich Englishman Spalding "to be freely used for the Russian cause." The money was used to launch a pro-Bolshevist newspaper, *Eurasia,* in Paris. Savitsky and Trubetskoy, the Eurasians mentioned above, watched with fear the transformation of the Eurasian movement...

> "It has been also established," the indictment says further, "that in its anti-Soviet activity the Eurasian organization was connected, apart from the Intelligence Service, with the French, Polish, Lithuanian, Latvian, Finnish and other foreign secret services and used their channels for the smuggling of counterrevolutionary literature and its emissaries into the Soviet Union.
> In 1929 the Eurasian organization entered into talks with leaders of the counterrevolutionary Trotskyite underground represented by PYATAKOV and SOKOLNIKOV. Through them it established contacts with the Trotskyite centre operating in the USSR for the purpose of conducting anti-Soviet activity."

The trial of the "anti-Soviet Trotskyite centre" (Pyatakov, Sokolnikov, Radek and Serebryakov) took place in Moscow in late January 1937. The trumped-up charges were typical: the formation of wrecking groups and attempts on the life of Politburo members. Pyatakov and Serebryakov were executed. Radek and Sokolnikov soon died in camps.

Nothing was stated even at the trial in 1937 about the centre's ties with "terrorists-Eurasians," despite the numerous fantastic charges made during it.

"Passport must be earned"

> An extract from the bill of indictment:
> "With the aim of infiltrating into the USSR, the defendants EFRON-ANDREYEV, KLEPININA-LVOVA and AFANASOV established business ties with NKVD bodies in Paris. They simultaneously worked for the French secret service and informed it of the tasks set before them by the NKVD. Then they provoked a failure in their work for the USSR and came to the Soviet Union."

Efron's cooperation with the NKVD evidently began after he had applied to the Soviet embassy for the restoration of his Soviet citizenship. It is unlikely that a direct offer was made right away. He was offered "clean" work in the Union for Return to the Homeland. Efron could not but accept the offer. It was difficult to invent a better way of "expiating guilt." Concrete tasks were set later...

Some Renata Steiner, whom the French police questioned in the autumn of 1937 (Efron was already in Moscow), revealed that during her tourist trip to Moscow in 1934 she married a citizen of the USSR (incidentally, an NKVD officer – **L.Y.**). In Paris she asked the Soviet Embassy to help her come to the Soviet Union for good. An Embassy official sent Steiner to Efron, who worked in the Union for Return to the Homeland.

Sergei Efron explained to Renata that she must earn a Soviet passport. Shortly after that she kept watch on Trotsky's son Lev Sedov, who died under obscure circumstances in February 1938 after a successful operation (the removal of the ap-

pendicitis). Such was the task set before Steiner by Efron, if one is to believe her testimony.

"Occupying a position of responsibility in the so-called pro-Soviet organization in Paris, the Union for Return to the Homeland, and enjoying exceptional trust on the part of the treacherous leaders of the NKVD fifth department, EFRON-ANDREYEV carried out tasks set before him by the French secret service by smuggling its spies, saboteurs and terrorists into the Soviet Union for a number of years through the Union for Return to the Homeland. The defendant Tolstoy operated on instructions from Efron. Living in Leningrad, he gathered secret information about the productive capacity of its munitions factories, the location of military airfields and army units in the environs of the city, and passed on this information to the French secret service."

According to Renata Steiner, in the summer of 1937 Efron gave her another order: to find the whereabouts of Ignaty Reiss (Ignaty Porecki), a former resident-agent of the NKVD.

Ariadna Efron in Paris, shortly before her return to Russia. She believed that "infinitely many happy tomorrows" lay ahead of her

The assassination of Reiss

After the arrest of Yagoda, the former people's commissar for internal affairs, Yezhov, who replaced him in this post, began a purge of NKVD personnel. Employees of the foreign department were summoned back. A return to the Soviet Union meant execution or a long prison term (as "Yagoda's spies"). Five of forty agents refused to come back, and Reiss was among them.

An extract from the bill of indictment: "In 1939, acting on instructions from EFRON-ANDREYEV, TOLSTOY formed a group with the aim of performing a terrorist act against one of the leaders of the Communist Party and the government of the Soviet Union."

Ignaty Reiss was killed in Lausanne on September 4, 1937, and it is logical to suppose that it was the NKVD's doing. However, exact information can be obtained only in the NKVD archives.

The police arrested Roland Abbiate, who killed Reiss, and the trace quickly led to Renata Steiner. Having questioned her, the investigator summoned up Efron's close friend Nikolai Klepinin-Lvov, also an Eurasian, and the following day Sergei Efron was summoned up, too.

"The defendant KLEPININ-LVOV worked for the French, Belgian, German, American and British intelligence services. He gave assistance to Bernard Pierce of the British intelligence service and American intelligence officer Geddy in the formation of an anti-Soviet group in Moscow with the aim of opposing the establishment of friendly relations between the USSR and Germany."

Peter Huber, a Swiss historian, investigated the circumstances of the murder of Reiss on his own (see *NT*, No. 21/91). He is sure that Efron played a considerable role in the NKVD group hunting for the fugitive. It is difficult to believe, however, that the NKVD foreign department would fully trust the newly "recruited" emigrant in such a dangerous and exceptional case. The practice of NKVD work points to the opposite. The NKVD rather used Efron as an "errand-boy." It was easy to explain to him the need for tracking Reiss down.

"Sergei Yakovlevich (Efron) did not suppose that Reiss would be killed," Irma Kudrova writes in her book, quoting the words of Efron's daughter Ariadna. "He thought that Reiss would have to appear before the just Soviet court, for it was impossible to assume that the man who knew too much would disclose the information to the enemies of Soviet government..."

Thus, Efron did not expect that Reiss would be killed. True, two fugitives – Navashin and Agabekov – had been killed in France and Belgium, respectively, by that time.

Before he fled to Moscow (a few days after the police interrogation) Efron complained to his close friend Vera Guchkova-Traill, daughter of the Kerensky government's war minister: "I have been involved in dirty business." True, the complaint was addressed to the wrong person...

On July 28, 1955, Ariadna Efron, who had just returned from exile in Turukhansk, Eastern Siberia, wrote a letter to the KGB (the original is kept in the military prosecutor's office). **"I'm writing to you in connection with the case of my father. The person who knew him from about 1924 or perhaps earlier is Vera Alexandrovna Traill, who also took an active and considerable part in our work abroad..."**

According to Peter Huber, it was Vera Guchkova-Traill who received a cheque for 10,000 francs from Moscow and handed it over to the mother of Roland Abbiate, Reiss' murderer.

Ariadna Efron disclosed several more important names in her letter. **"In Moscow I found our old acquaintance who knew my father for many years owing to their joint work in France. It is Elizaveta Alexeyevna Khenkina. At one time she took part in our work abroad. She was in Spain, as was her son Kirill Victorovich, a former soldier of the International Brigade. E.A. Khenkina knew Spiegelglass and remembers well how and who fulfilled the assignment given by him to the group led by my father and who is to blame for the failure of this affair..."**

Sergei Mikhailovich Spiegelglass was deputy head of the NKVD foreign operations department. He directed the Soviet spy network in Europe. If Ariadna had in mind the murder of Reiss, and this is evidently so, it turns out that her father led the group of "hunters," which received the assignment to kill Reiss from Spiegelglass. It is possible, however, that, casting aspersions on her father (from our point of view), Ariadna tried to rehabilitate her father in the eyes of the NKVD, for she did not yet know that he was no longer alive...

Ariadna Efron was the first of the family to return to Russia of which she dreamed. The August 1937 issue of the left-emigrant magazine *Nash Soyuz* (Our Union) carried a letter which is believed to have been written by Ariadna. "The great Moscow, the heart of the great country," it says. "I am happy to be here. How wonderful to realize that everything lies ahead. I am the master of my life today. I am the master of my life tomorrow. I expect very many, infinitely many happy 'tomorrows'... (signed) Alya."

Exactly two years later 26-year-old Ariadna Efron was arrested and tried as an agent of the French secret service. On July 2, 1940, she was sentenced to eight-year imprisonment. In 1949 she was arrested again and exiled to the Turukhansk village in the Krasnoyarsk territory.

In 1954 the sentence was rescinded and Ariadna Efron was released. All these years she sent one letter after another, trying to prove that only illegal methods of interrogation forced her to admit the guilt.

"I'll probably go away soon..."

A week after they had been interrogated by the police, Sergei Efron and Nikolai Klepinin-Lvov fled to the USSR. The same was done by Vadim Kondratyev (died in 1939) and Nikolai Afanasov. The latter is known by his success in recruiting the secretary of Trotsky's son.

In Moscow, Efron first lived in the Metropol Hotel and then in Tsentralnaya Hotel. He looked cheerless and said strange things. "I'll probably go away soon, very far and for a long time," he intimated once.

After the death of Slutsky, head of the NKVD foreign operations deparment, early in 1938 Efron had heart trouble and was hospitalized. In the autumn of the same year he moved, together with Klepinin, to a government dacha in Bolshevo, near Moscow. In September 1939 Efron was arrested and Marina Tsvetayeva, who returned to the USSR after her husband and daughter, brought food parcels to him...

> An extract from the bill of indictment: "EFRON-ANDREYEV is kept in the Lefortovo prison while the other defendants are in the internal prison (of the NKVD). Material evidence in the case is lacking.
>
> (signed) junior lieutenant of the state security service Ivanov, investigator of the investigation department, NKVD of the USSR. Approved by state security captain Esaulov, head of the investigation department, NKVD of the USSR."

At the preliminary investigation Sergei Efron, Pavel Tolstoy, Nikolai Klepinin, Antonina Klepinina, Emilia Litauer and Nikolai Afanasov pleaded guilty, as was done by thousands of others after the grilling. At the trial Tolstoy and Afanasov flatly denied their participation in anti-Soviet activity while Efron and Klepinin admitted only that they were members of the Eurasian organization. They denied their previous testimony. However, this could not already influence their fate.

On July 6, 1941 the military court sentenced them to death by shooting.

The sentence is repealed

On October 16, 1941, the sentence passed by the military judicial board was executed. However, the relatives of the convicted persons did not learn anything either about the verdict or the execution. Later on, carrying out the instructions of their chiefs, NKVD employees began to "scatter" the dates of death of the numerous victims of those years. They tried to make the statistics look not so terrible... That is why Ariadna Efron was informed in 1956 that her father, "serving his term, died on October 1, 1944," while the wife of Afanasov was issued a certificate stating that her husband died on October 18 of the same year. The son of Klepinina learned from an official document given to him that his mother died on November 19, 1943...

In 1956 the military prosecutor's office conducted an additional investigation and established that all six persons "were unlawfully convicted of engaging in anti-Soviet espionage activity" and that "the archives of the state security service contain no information about Efron-Andreyev, Klepinin-Lvov and others being agents of the foreign intelligence services."

In his secret message on the results of the additional investigation, sent to Malyarov, head of the KGB investigation department, military prosecutor Dobatkin wrote:

> "Pudin, a former NKVD staffer, who knew Efron-Andreyev and the Klepinins by their work abroad, testified that during their arrest the NKVD foreign department had no information about their affiliation with foreign secret services.
>
> "Thus, it was groundless to charge that Efron-Andreyev, Klepinin-Lvov, Klepinina-Lvova, Afanasov, Tolstoy and Litauer engaged in anti-Soviet activity.
>
> "As for their participation in the Eurasian organization, the convicted cannot be accused of it because, carrying out work abroad in favour of the USSR, they did not conceal this fact and the Soviet authorities knew about it when helping Efron-Andreyev, the Klepinins and others return to the Soviet Union."

One can only guess about the character of the "work done by Efron abroad" and the degree of his participation in NKVD operations. Pudin's testimony has not been filed. Spiegelglass, about whom Ariadna Efron wrote in her letter, did not live to 1956. He was executed as "an enemy of the people."

The sentence was repealed.

It is time to take another step now — to open the archives of the KGB's first chief directorate, reveal the documents connected with the assassination of Ignaty Reiss, and ascertain what role was assigned to Sergei Efron in the operation of the NKVD foreign operations department. In an informal conversation a high-placed official of the security bodies told me that Efron was never a regular NKVD-man. The talk about Efron being a regular NKVD-man is merely a rumour, sometimes deliberately inspired. Be that as it may, this author felt something mean in the endless speculation and guesses about the fate of the man who tragically died a long time ago. It's time to learn the truth.

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Is it easy for women to kill?

Cesaro Lambroso, an anthropologist and psychiatrist, thought that women were not clever enough to commit crimes. The opinion of the learned Italian has been refuted by Leila Khaled, Fusako Shigenobu and Ulrike Meinhof

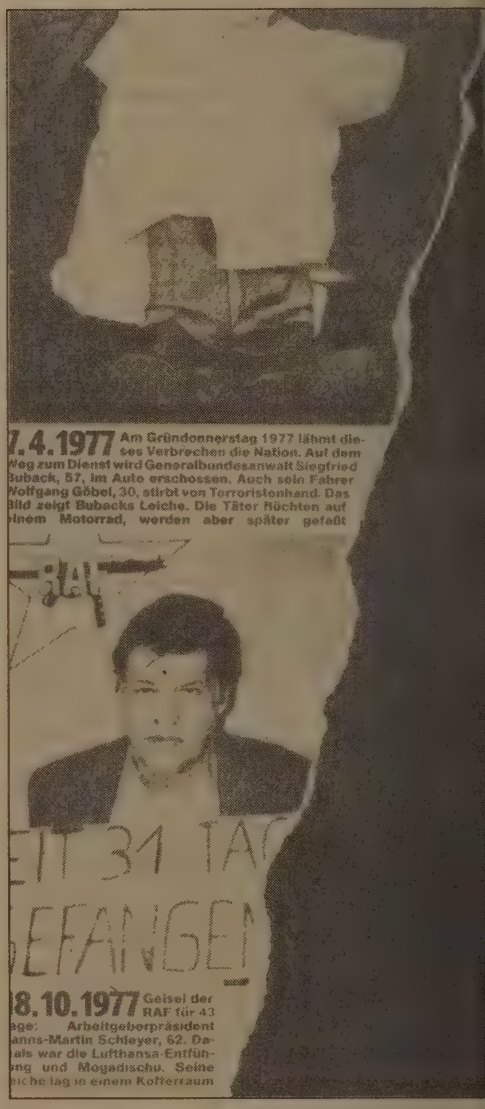
These women refuted not only Lambroso, but also statistics which indicates that terrorism is an occupation for men. The three women not only exploded bombs, killed and hijacked. They led an international terrorist network.

Far from everyone will call them criminals. Clever, charming and convinced of their justice, these women ordered their comrades to die for the sake of the idea, not money. They were also prepared to die. One of them committed suicide, though many believe she was killed.

Leila Khaled: "My orange tree has remained in Palestine"

The first plane was hijacked by Palestinians in June 1968. Terrorists from the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, led by Georges Habbash, captured an Isaraeli Boeing-707 en route from Rome to Tel Aviv and ordered the crew to land in Algiers. In this way Palestinians wanted to draw world attention to their struggle against Israel.

The security systems at airports were unable to detect terrorists and a hundred odd



Women from the Red Army Fraction in Germany acted without mercy. They passed a sentence and themselves executed it

West Berlin police killed student Benno Ohnesorg during an anti-shah demonstration in 1967. In reply to the death of Ohnesorg terrorists set up ultra-left organizations all over Europe

of innocent passengers became hostages for whose release terrorists could demand anything.

The Habbash-led Popular Front decided to strike at Israel's allies, too. Palestinian leaders thought that Europeans and Americans would stop backing Tel Aviv if their lives were threatened.

In August 1969 terrorists from the Popular Front hijacked an American plane for the first time and landed it in Damascus.

The operation was led by 26-year-old Leila Khaled, a member of the Popular Front. Newspapers the world over readily carried a photograph of a young woman with a Kalashnikov gun in her hands.

On September 6, 1970, Leila Khaled together with Patricio Arguello, a Nicaraguan who helped Georges Habbash, tried to seize an Israeli plane flying from Amsterdam to London. It was part of a vast design. Two planes had been hijacked over Europe and flown to Jordan, where they were landed at an old airfield unused since the second world war. A third plane was hijacked to Cairo, and a fourth plane was to be captured by Leila Khaled.

But the Israelis were ready to repulse an attack. Security service agents on board the airliner shot the Nicaraguan to death and disarmed Leila Khaled. Her hands were bound with neckties because the Israelis did not have handcuffs.

Leila Khaled was turned over to the British police and she was to appear in court. Three days later, however, Palestinians hijacked a fifth plane and again landed it in Jordan. Its 300 passengers were declared hostages and were exchanged for Leila Khaled and other Palestinian terrorists serving their terms in Swiss and West German prisons.

The mass hijacking of planes exasperated King Hussein. He ordered his troops to clear Jordan of Palestinian units. In the fighting with government troops the Palestinians lost more men than during all the years of their war against Israel.

Egyptian President Nasser was the last victim of Leila Khaled and her comrades. Gamal Abdel Nasser tried in vain to stop the bloodshed, reconcile Hussein with Arafat, and died of a heart attack.

Leila Khaled does not take part in terrorist actions any longer. She heads a ring, sending others to die. Khaled lives not far from Damascus, in a well-guarded district where the Popular Front headquarters is situated.

Correspondents of the magazine *Quick* saw an unusual scene in her house. Several men, wrapped in blankets, were sleeping on the floor in a large room. Beside them lay brand-new Kalashnikov guns. Leila Khaled received even innocent foreign correspondents in the company of her bodyguards.

"When I took part in the armed struggle I fought in the name of revolution, in the name of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, in the name of the people," Khaled said. "Our actions were directed only against Israel. At first, we did everything to draw public attention to ourselves. But in 1970 we stopped these actions. We had concluded that we were losing our friends, and the world already knew about us. We transferred our armed struggle to the Israeli-occupied territories."

Leila Khaled, left, in the years when she hijacked planes. Fusako Shigenobu compelled Japanese terrorists to obey her

The main idea which Leila Khaled carried through all her life is hatred for Israel. She holds the Jewish state responsible for her ruined life. In 1948, after the first war unleashed by Arab countries against Israel, the Khaled family left Haifa where Leila was born. They settled in a small Lebanese town. Bitterness, resentment and hatred were cultivated in the family.

"In the yard of the house in which we lived there was an orange tree laden with ripe fruit," Leila Khaled told the correspondents. "Once we, children, tried to pluck oranges from it, one for each of us. Suddenly mother came up and told us very seriously: 'These are not your oranges. Your orange tree has remained in Palestine. We do not own anything here.' Since then I have never tasted oranges. When I asked for a new dress my mother always said we could not afford to buy because we had no rights and had nothing. This has determined all my life," Leila concluded.

Leila Khaled is now raising up a son, hoping that he will promote her cause. "If he wants a toy I tell him that all beautiful toys are in Palestine," she went on. "If he wants to pluck a flower I tell him that our flowers have remained in Palestine."

Fusako Shigenobu: "I had murder in my heart. But I smiled"

Early in 1971 a young woman unknown to anyone, who had just married a Kyoto University student, left Japan for Lebanon where she offered her services to Georges Habbash, leader of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine. Habbash was glad to receive unexpected assistance. He was ready to supply Japanese comrades with money and arms. But what could they offer in exchange?

At that time Fusako Shigenobu represented the little-known terrorist organization, United Red Army, and she decided to use her chance. Were it not for her diabolic mind 26 people would still be alive.

In the autumn of 1971 she invited several members of the organization from Japan to undergo the necessary training in Palestinian camps in Lebanon. Three young Japanese from the Red Army studied for two months. By May of the following year they were ready for action, and flew into Europe with forged papers. They spent three days in Rome. On

The tragic fate of Ulrike Meinhof remains a mystery. In the name of terrorism she gave up her daughters with a heavy heart

the eve of departure each of them found in his hotel room a Czechoslovak-made tommy-gun, magazines for it, and Soviet-made hand grenades. They boarded a plane bound for Tokyo with a stopover in Tel Aviv. The three Japanese coolly took guns and grenades out of their bags and staged a carnage at the Lod airport.

On that day Fusako Shigenobu received congratulations at the headquarters of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine. The blood of several dozen men, mainly Christian pilgrims, made her a heroine of the Arab world and one of the acknowledged leaders of international terrorism.

Two of the Japanese were killed while the third, Kozo Okamoto, was sentenced to life imprisonment. In 1985 he, together with 1,150 Palestinians, was exchanged for three Israeli soldiers taken prisoner in Lebanon. But freedom came too late for him. Kozo Okamoto had gone mad.

The people of Fusako Shigenobu continued to hijack planes, seize embassies and hostages and gain millions of dollars as ransom.

Once Fusako Shigenobu was a dancer in Tokyo's red-light district. "I hated the men who pawed and used my body to satisfy their lust. I had murder in my heart. But I smiled, for I saw every kiss turn into a rice ball for the Red Army," she later confessed.

Shigenobu does not like to give interviews. She meets with journalists only after the media carry reports that she has died or that the Red Army no longer exists.

She was said to be Habbash's mistress. Knowing that her words will be remembered and quoted, she said proudly in Japan: "I will never get married. The revolution is my lover." Nevertheless, Fusako Shigenobu got married, not for love but for business considerations. That is why she coolly sent her husband to carry out an assignment which proved fatal for him.

Unlike other terrorists, Fusako dressed well and always tried to look her best. It was more difficult for her than for her European or Palestinian counterparts. She wanted to bend men to her will. Japanese men, however, are not accustomed to obeying women.

Fusako was born into a poor family and in her childhood she collected money for poor people and cripples. Once she was even interviewed and her photograph was carried in a newspaper. After that Fusako received some 100 friendly letters.

On finishing school Fusako worked at a factory producing soybean sauce. An instructor told her: "Women should act feminine with shyness and smiles.". But this role did not suit Fusako. Harsh and masterful like her father, a secret police captain, Fusako learned in her student years about the existence of class struggle and became aware that "as long as class confrontations and disharmony between the classes continue to exist, people cannot share happiness."

A turning point in her life came on October 8, 1967, when she took part in a student demonstration against the Vietnam war. Seven thousand policemen broke up the demonstration with clubs. Fusako was knocked down by a blow. "I was lying in a sea of bleeding bodies," she recalled later. Her father told her next morning: "Fusako, if you are serious about revolution, you must not fight like that. The Buddhist priest Inoue is said to have advocated the principle of 'one man one kill.' However, that is not what he said. He said 'one man, many kills.'"

Fusako Shigenobu remembered the words of her father. Soon she joined the Red Army. She did not kill anyone herself. This possibly explains why it was easy for her to send others to death.

Ulrike Meinhof: "Journalism is all rubbish. We must make a revolution"

They were sure that armed struggle was the only possibility for changing anything in the Federal Republic of Germany, and the only possibility for changing themselves. They wanted to mould a new man who would not lie and renounce all compromises he has to make all the time in this life. They hoped that in the process of struggle new relations would form between them. Everyone would understand that others are ready to take the same risks and would regard them as brothers.

They were good children from good families. They grew up as free-thinking people with a highly developed sense of justice. They believed that Germany did not rid itself of fascism and that the only guarantee of this was an imminent revolution.

The visit of the Iranian shah to West Berlin became a signal to revolution. Students protested against the arrival of the cruel tyrant in the city, but they were unmercifully beaten by policemen. One student, Benno Ohnesorg, was killed. One of the terrorist groups was called "June 2nd movement," in memory of the day when he was killed.

Gudrun Ensslin, a student and daughter of a Protestant pastor, would say later: "We have nothing

to talk about with the generation which made Auschwitz possible. It has not learned anything and has not changed."

Four youths, one of whom – Andreas Baader – later became world famous, went to Frankfurt and set fire to two department stores in protest against the cruel treatment of students. All of them were quickly put on trial. They were defended by lawyer Horst Maler. "Prison is not the place for these defendants," he said. "If they are sent to prison nevertheless, we have to conclude that in this society prison is the only place for a decent man."

Having seen that he was unable to change anything by his eloquence, Horst Maler took up arms and joined a group which was later called Red Army Fraction.

One more voice was heard in defence of fledgling terrorists who still enjoyed support from many leftists. The chief editor and wife of the publisher of the magazine *Konkret* wrote: "The progessive character of this action consisted not in the destruction of some wares but in its criminal nature, in the conscious violation of the law." The name of this journalist was Ulrike Meinhof. She was much older than the revolting students. A popular journalist and mother of twin daughters, she gave up her former life for the sake of a new, dangerous life necessary, in her opinion, for the happiness of the people.

Real terror began in Germany on May 14, 1970, when Ulrike Meinhof and Gudrun Ensslin set Andreas Baader free. In those days prison authorities were so naive that they allowed the convict to go to a city library in the accompaniment of only a prison librarian.

The Red Army terrorists immediately moved to a Palestinian camp on the border between Jordan and Syria, where they underwent thorough training. They returned to Germany quite different people. They lived at secret addresses, robbed banks, stole clean passport forms and cars, set up arms depots, and manufactured bombs.

In all other countries there were eight men among every ten terrorists. The proportion was different in the Red Army Fraction. It can be said that the group was formed by three women – Gudrun Ensslin, Astrid Proll and Ulrike Meinhof.

When the West German police drew up a list of most dangerous criminals at large there were only four men among 14 terrorists.

Women terrorists took part in the assassination of Siegfried Buback, prosecutor-general of the Federal Republic, Hanns-Martin Schleyer, president of the employers' union, and Jurgen Ponto, a banker.

This aroused surprise even among other terrorists and once led to disagreement with Palestinians. In Palestinian camps men live separately from women. This did not suit the Germans. Baader did not want to part with Ensslin. The women terrorists were determined to learn, equally with men, how to shoot and throw grenades. The Palestinians held their own, and the Germans returned home ahead of time.

The women who joined the Red Army Fraction found there "warmth, love and care" which they lacked in their families. It was obvious proof of their unhappy personal lives. In the name of the struggle Gudrun Ensslin left her little son. It was not easy for Ulrike Meinhof to live separately from her children. For a long time secret meetings with her daughters were arranged, but these meetings became ever more dangerous for the terrorists. Meinhof's comrades were discontented with her wishy-washiness. Gradually she tore the love of her children from her heart. After the death of Ulrike Meinhof investigators found in the prison cell unsealed letters which her daughters sent her for Easter.

A liberal journalist who grew up in a pacifist family, Ulrike Meinhof became quite a different person during the years she spent in the underground and in prison.

The imprisoned terrorists went on hunger strikes. One of them died on November 10, 1974. Next day West Berlin supreme judge Günter von Drenkmann was assassinated in revenge. Meinhof wrote from prison: "We do not mourn for the dead Drenkmann. We are glad to hear the news of this execution. This action was necessary because it showed each judicial and official swine that he can be called to account even today."

On May 9, 1976, Ulrike Meinhof was found dead in her cell. She hanged herself with the help of a twisted towel tied to the window bars. Her relatives and comrades from the Red Army Fraction alleged that Meinhof was killed. The federal prosecutor's office concluded, however, that it was a suicide.

Ulrike Meinhof took her own life. She spent four years in prison and would hardly have been released until the end of her life. It was despair, not realization of the falsity of her path, which drove Meinhof to suicide.

She did not reform. Ulrike Meinhof, Fusako Shigenobu and Leila Khaled never regretted what they had done. They remained faithful to their convictions which made them murderers.

In the opinion of psychologists a woman needs a radical shift in her mind before she goes over to violence. After the internal shift takes place women can become cool and merciless killers. It will always be alleged, however, that they are victims.

Leonid Mlechin

Photos from Quick and Der Spiegel (Germany)

The Stalin-Yezhov chess game

I do not understand a padishah who cannot play chess. How can he rule then?

A seventh-century Persian King

"We are wholly indebted to the Great October Revolution for revealing the political in chess," Grandmaster Lev Alburt noted several years ago in the Munich-based magazine *Our Country and the World*. "There were several reasons for this. For instance, Lenin, who was generally not much of a sporting type, played chess while Nikolai Krylenko, the formidable People's Commissar of Justice, adored the game. Mikhail Botvinnik's triumphs in the second half of the 1930s were most handy for Stalin as along with the Chkalov flights and the Chelyuskin and Papanin sagas, they helped him to play down the repercussions of the political trials and limn the image of a happy land and its wise leader, the best friend of the airmen, the Young Pioneers, the seafarers and the chess players." But did Stalin himself play chess? We still don't know.

As "the father of the peoples," Joseph Stalin was the acknowledged coryphaeus of all disciplines and sciences. Sad to say, we hardly know anything about his sporting process, even though the leader did favour some sports. Thus he adored wrestling and promoted Georgian wrestlers, and played billiards as if taking issue with pet proletarian poet Vladimir Mayakovsky who in his poem *Vladimir Ilyich Lenin* announced:

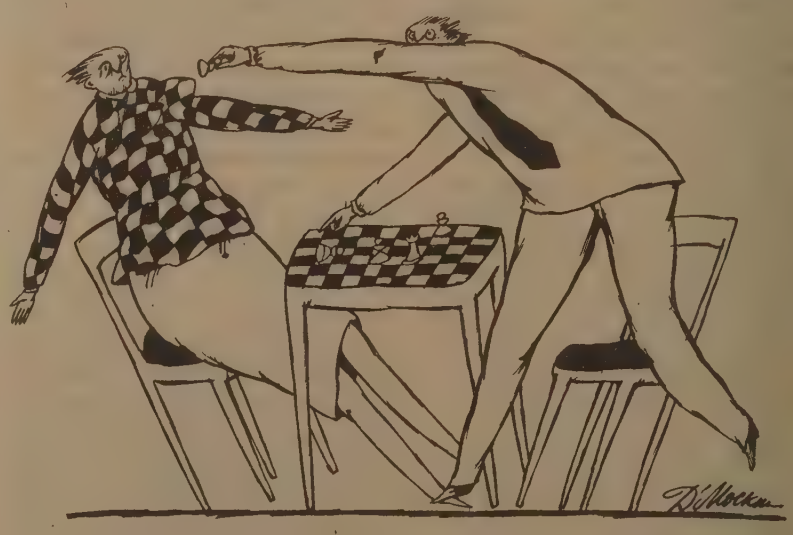
"For me it's billiard, say, to whet the sight; for him it's chess — more useful for a leader."

But it may well be that Stalin wielded not only the billiards cue, but also chessmen.

Many revolutionists such as Marat and Robespierre were traditionally fond of chess. For that matter, in his recollections Marx noted he often had a game of chess with his bosom friend Helen Demut. And thereby hangs a tale. Back in the 1920s many publications alleged that in a game against the celebrated Gustav Neumann, Marx presumably scored a brilliant win. Evidently the order had come not to question this event, as only much later did it transpire that the person in question was sadly enough no more than the namesake of the "father of all ideas."

Ulyanov-Lenin adored the game and, "in his salad years successfully played against Samara's strongest players," as his brother Dmitry recalled. "As a rule he was a serious player, not fond of what might be called an 'easy' game. He was mainly interested in a tough game, in the best move and in finding the way out of a difficult, at times almost hopeless position." Nadezhda Krupskaya observed that Lenin had been so deeply engrossed in a game played by correspondence against Lepeshinsky that he even shouted out in his sleep that "if he'll move his knight to that square, I'll move my rook there."

Stalin had an affinity for chess, not only due to the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist tradition, but also in accordance with what might be termed the empire tradition. Ivan the Terrible, also adored chess. According to the legend he is supposed to have died while playing a game of chess. Peter the Great always took a pocket set of chess with him on military campaigns, Napoleon was an inveterate player, who was often to be seen at a game of chess in Paris's celebrated Cafe de la Regence. Later in exile on Saint Helena he also played chess. As a matter of fact, throughout his life the emperor requetted his lack of skill. Even during his eminence, some bold men,



Drawing by Dmitry Moskin

for example Talleyrand, were not afraid to beat him at the game time and again. Upon realizing that he was losing, Napoleon would sweep the men off the board in a nervous fit, but would never punish the winning opponent.

One could hardly imagine a man bold or stupid enough be dare to systematically outplay Stalin with impunity. Indeed, after such "Pyrric victories," he would have once found himself in the brutal hands of Yagoda, Yezhov or Beria, because, as the Leader was fond of noting, "in conditions when we are surrounded by enemies our unexpected strike or a sudden ruse and speed would be decisive."

Whatever the case, the myth that Stalin was fond of relaxing at chess continues to be circulated abroad. Thus, there is relevant mention in the French and British (Golombek) chess encyclopaedias, while in the second volume of the 1987 Polish chess encyclopaedia the relevant entry says: "Stalin, Joseph (1879–1953) ... was fond of playing chess in his leisure time. The game at which in 1926 he defeated Yezhov, the head of the GPU, is featured in countless editions." Further presented are the moves in this exciting duel, in which the gambit was truly grandmasterly! The Leader excelled throughout, showing himself to be for the umpteenth time a farsighted strategist and clever tactician.

Shortly after of Polish chess encyclopaedia came out the noted chess historian Isaac Linder concluded in the journal *Shakhmaty v SSSR* (Chess in the USSR) that there was no point in presenting the Stalin entry as the moves given were obviously false. Further, International Master Krzysztof Pytel intently analyzed the Stalin–Yezhov game and in the journal *Polityka* observed: "When repeating the moves at home I couldn't help thinking that this was a sham, a sheer invention. Who started this legend and how?"

We put the question to Grandmaster Averbakh, the well-known chess historian. He said he had gleaned the respective information from German sources years ago. "After the 'great Leader's death, many waxed bold with some wise guy inventing the Stalin-Yezhov game," he thinks.

In short, experts unanimously note that this was a trumped-up tale. Surprisingly enough, nobody appears to have noted that this "historic" game was presumably played in 1926, when Nikolai Yezhov had not yet to come to Moscow as GPU chief but rather held some minor position in the provinces.

To sum up, we thus far cannot say with any certainty whether Stalin really played chess. On the other hand, we do know that he favoured the game and did all in his power to promote chess in this country. Though it was isolated from the rest of the world by its "iron curtain" he did not prevent top Soviet chessplayers from going abroad.

Olga Yevgeniyevna Capablanca-Clark, nee Chagodaeva, the widow of chess celebrity Jose Raoul Capablanca, who now lives in New York, had recently related the following curious tale. Returning from the 1936 Moscow tournament, Capablanca told her that none else than Stalin had watched some from behind the curtains in the Hall of Columns. Later Capablanca was introduced to Stalin and in the conversation that followed the Cuban Grandmaster complained that Soviet opponents put their best foot forward to obstruct his game, but were not that energetic when playing against tournament leader Botvinnik. Upon which Stalin supposedly said that "there'll be no more of that."

The noted historian Antonov-Ovseyenko aptly describes why Stalin was so well disposed towards chess. He notes:

"Stalin excelled in publicity! Nobody else could so shamelessly tout the communist paradise. He brilliantly exploited everything conducive to the build-up of his own image throughout the world for which reason he not only promoted the Moscow Art Theatre and the Bolshoi but also kept what one might term in a figure of speech, a 'stable of chessplayers.' Thus, for him Botvinnik was no more than a prize-winning racehorse! And though the 'father of the peoples' was an anti-Semite, in this particular case promotion of his smelly socialism meant more.

"Gronsky who at that time was *Izvestia's* editor, told me that Stalin had sent him abroad to coax World Champion Alyokhin to repatriate. Which was also very important for advertisement, in order to doll up the show window of Stalin's socialism.

"The Leader's encouragement was naturally conducive to the flourishing of chess in this country. He gave moral and material backing to the emerging constellation of leading Soviet chess players and propagandized their triumphs in the press. Yet sad to say, it was under Stalin that a dark revolution overtook chess – its inordinate politicization."

In all likelihood in his younger days, possibly while at the theological seminary, Stalin learned the rules of the game and played chess from time to time. However, at the height of his powers, when the "coryphaeus of all the sciences" authored "immortal" philosophical treatises and dedicated all his energies and powers to globalizing the "world's one and only fair and just social system" he naturally, could no longer be content with the chessboard and the chessmen, as the scope was too small for him.

A perfidious player, Stalin was undoubtedly the world champion in "live chess" where human beings served as chessmen, especially as pawns.

Victor Malkin,
D. Sc. (Medicine)

Vladimir Fyodorov,
Master of Sport

The rumours that the former chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet's Soviet of the Union, **Ivan Laptev,** 57, is out of work are grossly exaggerated. As a member of the Union Parliament he can work in any parliamentary commission or committee. However, Ivan Laptev is prepared to come back to *Izvestia* where he worked until 1990 as the editor-in-chief, only this time in a new capacity.

In the near future they are going to solve the question of creating on the basis of the Izvestia editorial and publishing complex the Izvestia economic association. Ivan Laptev was offered there the post of General Director. For such an idea to become a reality, though, one needs the order of the USSR President. According to Laptev was offered there the post of General Director. For such an idea to become a reality, though, one needs the order of the USSR President. According to Laptev, together with his colleague Rafik Nishanov he "has been waiting during the present eternity" to be received by Mikhail Gorbachev. After all, it was the USSR President who some time ago enticed both men to take the posts of chairmen of the parliamentary chambers.

Ivan Laptev says the main goal of the creation of the new association is to give a work out to "the model variant of the economically independent press at a time when it is subjected to economic smothering" – first of all with the help of prices of paper and postage.

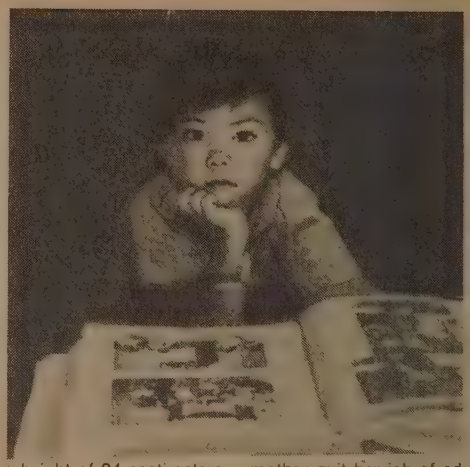
Although in the past *Izvestia* editors received instructions from the Supreme Soviet and its Presidium, the newspaper's property has never belonged to the Kremlin. On the other hand, *Izvestia* could not independently run its business. According to Ivan Laptev, now there the question of a full "autonomization" of the property and the equally unconditional independence from the Union Parliament. The newspaper continues to be a state organization. Will the new *Izvestia* be willing to allot up to 50 million rubles in its profits to the state budget as it did in the past? Ivan Laptev did not rule out that the next step could involve the creation of the Izvestia joint-stock company or even the privatization of the newspaper.

* * *

When the 4-year-old New-Yorker, **Philip Lee Carabuena,** comes out on to the street after work, he is surrounded by a crowd of admirers. The distribution of autographs (for this purpose he always carries a golden pen) sometimes takes several hours.

Philip is acting in one of this season's Broadway's hits – the play Miss Saigon.

Lee has been chosen for the role of Tam, the son of a Vietnamese prostitute and a US soldier, out of 75 aspirants because of his more than modest physique: with



a height of 94 centimeters he weighs only 12 kilogrammes. According to the play's script, Lee's hero is only two years old.

The boy's parents, Filipino Americans, reacted differently to the talent of their offspring. His mother quit her job of administrator to spare the young talent more time. Fortunately, the son's earnings – 933 dollars a week for four performances – more than compensate for that "hole" in the family budget.

His father, a biochemist, does not intend to quit his job. He looks with a skeptical eye at his son's acting career and is thinking in earnest about sending him to college. "Broadway is fun and exciting, but we look at it, as far as Lee is concerned, as something for now. He just got a good break," says Carabuena-senior.

Evidently, the little boy's artistic career will come to an end as soon as he grows out of Tam's role in Miss Saigon.

* * *

The smithy of the Nobel Prize laureates and the FRG's largest scientific research organization – the Max-Planck-Gesellschaft zur Förderung der Wissenschaften has added two more names to the list of geniuses. The Nobel Prize for medicine and physiology has been awarded to the professors and Doctors of Sciences, **Bert Sakmann,** 49, and **Erwin Neher,** 47. The methods worked out by the doctors allow one to gain a deeper insight into the cells' vital functions in the organism and make it possible to un-

The delirium visions of Konstantin Skoptsov

"The intuitive-philosophical drawings resulting from a fantastic zeal of the mind and the soul" is the formula the critics have deduced from the creative work of 33-year-old **Konstantin Skoptsov.**

Konstantin's family lived in a room 8 meters square in a working class neighbourhood in the outskirts of Odessa. At school, the future painter took a great interest in the stories by Edgar Allan Poe and Ambrose Bierce, "Gothic novel" and then in Russian symbolists. He was given drawing and painting lessons by the students of the Arts Faculty who did not manage to complete their education. When he was in the eighth form, Konstantin made his first attempt to illustrate *Fantasiestücke in Callots Manier* by the German taleteller Ernst Hoffmann.

For some period of time painting took a back seat to ... karate classes. Konstantin Skoptsov's instructor was well known in the oriental martial arts community and head of the Golden Lotos patrimonial style of the Martial Vietnam art, Pham Duy Duy.

In the army he served in the airborne troops. According to Konstantin, after he was demobbed from the army his life became divided into four parts: drawings, family, sports and a way of making money. He has tried a lot of professions: that of an electrician, turner, body-building and Thai boxing, designer, modeller and carpenter.

But in the long run art took the upper hand. His first exhibitions, though, were lambasted by the critics in light of the resolution on the struggle against God-seeking and mysticism in art. Among art critics he passed for a "lame-duck abstract artist." However, Konstantin Skoptsov has been recognized abroad and his works have been exhibited in the United States, Canada, Belgium, the Netherlands, Italy and Germany.

Many viewers are perplexed by Skoptsov's farce and grotesque. But as one venerable reviewer put it, "for all the nightmare of these delirium visions, they are a far cry from the tragic realities plaguing mankind."

derstand better the course of such diseases as diabetes and epilepsy, as well as cardio-vascular and neuro-muscular illnesses. This opens up new possibilities for the creation of fundamentally new drugs.

Bert Sakmann was born in Stuttgart in the south-west of Germany. He showed an interest in medicine as early as during his years at school. In 1968 he started his scientific career in Munich's Institute

of Psychiatry. He worked in London, then in Göttingen's Institute of Biophysical Chemistry where he met Erwin Neher. Now he occupies the post of the director in the Institute of Medical Research in Heidelberg. He is married and has three children.

Erwin Neher comes from the South Bavarian city of Landsberg-am-Lech. He graduated from the Faculty of Physics of the Technical University in Munich and worked in the American university in the state of Wisconsin. Since returning to Germany two decades ago, he has been working at the Institute of Biophysical Chemistry where he heads the Department of Membrane Biophysics. Together with his wife, who also works at the same institute, he is bringing up five children.

Both laureates vowed not to be content with what they have achieved and to continue working with renewed energy for the benefit of mankind.

A.Kon

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"If I don't experience fear and excitement, if I know in advance how to make this or that play, I am not going to take a stab at it," says one of the most avant-garde and controversial Soviet choreographers, **Svetlana Voskresenskaya.** At the same time it is not very often that one comes across a woman that has such a clear idea of what she wants.

Svetlana Voskresenskaya staged her first number when she was still a student at the Moscow Choreographic School. Today, at the age of 33, her track-record already includes the Choreographic Department of the State Institute of Theatrical Art, a number of productions in the Stanislavsky and Nemirovich-Danchenko Musical Theatre, two international prizes, two benefit performances in Moscow, choreographer's work in the films of Mark Zakharov and Mikhail Shveitser, three television films, one of which — *The New Year Detective* — surprised the viewers with a precious rarity — truly ingenious humour, and another — the recently produced *The Reflection on the Theme of Hamlet* — featured stunning original choreography, and, having provoked a lot of heated arguments, has been sent to a competition in France. Unlike *The Reflection*, the figure of its creator does not, apparently, provoke that much argument. What the tough and clever Voskresenskaya does may be more or less successful, but it is always interesting.

Voskresenskaya defines her style as the synthesis of a Russian soul and the modern somewhat "strange" form with changeable contours. Her favourite composer is Shostakovich. This is probably one of the reasons why Voskresenskaya's most desired dream today is to produce a ballet version of the opera *Katerina Izmailova*.

In the past Svetlana got very upset when she was criticized. Today Voskresenskaya's most merciless critic is Voskresenskaya herself (although critics still do not favour her). But always discontented with what she does, superstitious and doubting, she knows for sure that she is following her own way. She says: "I want to make art!" And she is sure that she will.

L.Dolgacheva

The director of monument to peace

The Director of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), **Adam Daniel Rotfeld,** 53, is the "victim" of militalry conflicts in Europe.

He was born in Poland in the small town of Przemyslany near Lvov. But after the 1939 division of the country he found himself on Soviet territory. Despite the fact that his parents belonged to a famous clan, they were not repressed by the NKVD, but died later on at the hands of Nazis and Ukrainian policemen. The orphan Adam fetched up at the Greek Catholic Uniate monastery where he learned Russian with the help of old church books. After the war they drove away the monks and sent the wards to an orphanage. Only in 1950 was Adam, together with the three thousand other juvenile victims of war, turned over to the Polish authorities.

Adam Rotfeld graduated from Warsaw Institute of International Affairs and defended his thesis. In the 1970s, with the beginning of disarmament processes in Europe, he took part in the work of Polish government delegation at various international meetings until he at last found himself in SIPRI. Last summer, Doctor Rotfeld, the first scientist from Eastern Europe ever, became the head of this institute.

The new leader of SIPRI intends to pay special attention to such processes in European countries as the internationalization of national security, the growing number of ethnic conflicts and the transformation of intergovernmental alliances. They are going to continue to publish the SIPRI yearbook, the manual for journalists and politicians who are interested in the questions of military construction. SIPRI is now working on an original project "Cooperative security for the continent." As a matter of fact, this is a proposal to bargain for stability on the continent according to the principle: "You do what I need, and I do what is useful for you."

In mid-November, Doctor Rotfeld was to invite scientists and politicians from European countries to the jubilee conference of the institute. A quarter of century ago, the creation of the Peace Research Institute marked the 150th anniversary of the peaceful development of Sweden. At the coming celebrations the SIPRI Director expected to hear from his guests their views on the peaceful future of the continent. And with the Russian delegation, which was to be represented by Vice President Alexander Rutskoi and the Chairman of the parliamentary committee on international affairs, Vladimir Lukin, Doctor Rotfeld would like to discuss the concept of Russia's national security and defensive doctrine.

Alexander Polyukhov,
our own correspondent

STOCKHOLM

FROM THE XXth CENTURY POLITICAL THOUGHT

Introduced by *New Times* analyst **Rostislav Zolotaryov**

It is not often that political giants and great statesmen excel in theory. Thus, despite his magnificent style, erudition, and the wealth of historical data adduced, we discover but few gems of political theory in Charles de Gaulle's literary legacy. Which does not at all mean he was not conversant with philosophy and other disciplines.

His favourite philosopher was Henri Bergson, from whom he adopted his belief in the omnipotence of intuition which allowed one to make the proper and correct decisions in an eternally fluid situation. Though he was distrustful of doctrines, he was a life-long adept of the idea of French national unity, patriotism and the special role that armies play in society and world civilization. In fact, this inspired his vigorous behaviour in the 1940s and the 1960s. Still earlier, in the 1930s when he was Secretary of the French Supreme Council of National Defence, he publicly came out against the nation's official military doctrine, warning the government of the impending catastrophe and proposing his own programme for security. The basic relevant ideas are set out in his two books *For a Professional Army* (1934) and *France and Her Army* (1938).

At the time, Colonel de Gaulle's plans failed to rally public support in France, with the top military leaders repudiating them offhand. Left-wing oppositionists accused him of wanting a "Pretorian guard," while the parliamentary armed forces commission declared an army reform useless, undesirable and at odds with both logic and history.

Though a prophet without honour in his own country, he soon gained popularity abroad. Thus, his *For a Professional Army* was avidly read in Germany, even coming before Hitler's eyes, and was translated and published in the Soviet Union in 1935. The entire progress of the war that was soon to break out as well as further developments showed how right this military theoretician and politician had been. A professional armed force is a sign of the times. What such an armed force can do with its weaponry was well demonstrated by the USA and its allies in the Gulf War against Iraq.

How should we set about reforming the Soviet armed forces? Best suited to the present crisis in the view of experts is a territorial militia centering around a nucleus comprised of small professional armies patterned along de Gaulle's model and integrated into a joint "rapid action force." Incidentally, one third of the USA's professional army consists of an organized reserve of the territorial militia type in the shape of a National Guard. So may our military theoreticians note what Colonel de Gaulle had to say.

The man with the gun

Charles de Gaulle (1890–1970)

As Napoleon used to say, a state's policy depends on its geography. France has for centuries on end invariably sought in politics the protection that Nature has deprived it of. Other states might prefer ruling the seas, exploiting distant lands, and integrating a diaspora. But we French are haunted by the need to keep our hexagon safe. A political system preventing our neighbours from doing us any harm is, in the final analysis, what all the projects France has conceived and all the treaties she has concluded, amounted to over the millennia.

Open to attack with an unarmed underbody, with no respite and no refuge, what could our country find as protection if not weaponry? The sword is not only her last argument, it is also a support in weakness. To compensate for all the adverse territorial aspects, the entire political absurdity and the weakness of character she, it would seem, has nothing to rely on but the art of warfare, the suffering of her soldiers and the skill of her armies. That is her salient feature. The United States may accumulate strength out of all proportion to its armed might. Lost wars by no means compromise Russia's future. Italy emerged via numerous adversities of fate. But as far as we are concerned, our greatness or smallness directly hinges upon the outcome of our clashes. By virtue of geographical and political conditions France must either be well armed or cease to exist.

The poor conditions existing for initial national defence have quite definite consequences. With a relief as if deliberately created for the convenience of enemy invasion and open to surprise seizure due to the disposition of our national character and the qualities of our neighbours, we can by no means rely on hasty defence by poorly welded formations to repulse initial strikes. The time has come when it will be vital to complement the mass of our reserves and recruits — our paramount but slowly gathering and slowly mobilizing machine, whose colossal efforts prove up to the mark only in supreme danger — with another flexible machine capable of operating without delay, in short, one of invariably constant might, well welded and well armed. In other words, France will be defenceless unless she has a professional army.

The armed forces of today are currently equipped with increasingly sophisticated weaponry. A result which a hundred years ago would be obtained with difficulty by the combined operation of masses of soldiery is now speedily achieved by a few sophisticated mechanisms. The troops of bygone times were composed of men so organized as to maintain combined physical and spiritual steadfastness. Today though, these are machines coordinating their operation, and the teams servicing these machines. As soon as the machines upon which one or another engagement is built, prove ineffective, the

armed forces are at once thrown into disarray. Consequently, the conditions we now have for military operation require from the troops increasing skill and mastery in their use of weaponry. The time of an elite army has arrived.

Naturally, the reorganization of armies that technological progress induces conflicts with the long-established concept based on totally different conditions. To this day the concept of numbers of quantity that has been accepted as underlying military organization and warfare from the close of the 18th century on, plus the impassioned political theories enlightened by stupendous trials, prevail over opinions and hence over everything else. Most nations, horrified by the upheavals experienced, believe all able-bodied men should serve in peacetime and fight in wartime. Further, this "tax," expressed in terms of time and, possibly, in terms of bloodshed as well, is so well adapted to the old world's hankering for universal equality, that it borrowed from it the stern and strong burden of equalizing principles. A backpack for all flattered the universal eagerness to groom everything to one level.

Needed for defence are not vast masses of cannon fodder, but well trained professionals

Truth to tell, this fad for numbers did not hamper valour or strength. The superiority good troops enjoy was invariably demonstrated also by those gloomy hecatombs, to which the system of armed nations led during the last world war. Eyewitnesses of the final battles still have not forgotten the picked detachments that in each particular case headed the "main strike."

Yet despite the attenuating impact all these lessons could not but exert on the firm principle of numbers, the moment the war ended this principle again won out. Generally justified by the ultimate victory, convenient and simple in its crudeness and possessing the advantage of having broken through the "armour" of habit, this principle assumed full sway during the meltdown of earlier military dicta. By virtue of parliamentary legislation, France's combat forces combine colossal mechanical weaponry and the mobilized masses.

However, the passage of time has revealed how inconvenient this system is. The masses see conscription as more onerous than ever before. What was previously tolerated in the face of irreversible danger, but is little tolerated now after the victory won, let alone the natural reaction to the still recent abuse of weaponry, implies that everything with the slightest relation to fighting repels the masses. Then with life becoming increasingly intensive, the time taken by barrack life appears unproductive at least to the majority. Consequently, as is customarily the case, the elementary tendencies are transformed into doctrine which "popular tribunes" play up. On the pretext that today the entire nation as a whole is embattled, some willingly refute the value of purely armed units, claiming that as the entire nation rises up, it supposedly acquires strength, skill and valour. Thus, it is maintained, to recruit a standing army, to tear the citizenry away from their immediate duties and foist upon them at all costs what transcends their usual life, is useless, even dangerous. Going a little further, we shall see the advocates of such views even prepared to claim that a nation would supposedly fight all the better, the less prepared it would be for that.

In the meantime, we well know how great an effort is needed to recruit a good soccer team from specially selected players. In effect, our troops consist of temporary, transient, dispersing, weakly integrated groups. Instead of the exceptional efficacy that could be extracted from highly sophisticated mechanical weaponry, by combining that with well organized and governed units, we have nothing but a hasty, sketchy blueprint.

One of the many reasons behind the current concealed anxiety afflicting the army is the disparity between the needed objective and the operative military system. The high command will be obliged at the start of the conflict to lead armies that but slowly mobilize though the geographical, political, moral and economic conditions call for a flexible, mobile, speedy strategy. The instructors, obliged to switch trainees from centre to centre are in despair as the trainees leave before the trainers get to know them properly. Due to the absence of a cadre, and if there is such, then probably due to command techniques reserves are trained only in theory. Finally, the privates themselves are never properly trained. Haphazardly transferred from one objective to another, they are overwhelmed by the plentifulness of machinery and gadgetry, whose efficacy is subverted by their clumsiness. During their entire term of service or training exercises they barely imagine what they really have to know to become good soldiers. *A discontented, complaining army will improve only "approximately so."*

It must also be admitted that this situation discredits the army in the eyes of the public. To be up to the mark, to hold its own, an armed force must be self-confident. A colossus that stands firm on its feet is always impressive: however, it is enough for it to tutter, to appear miserable. Gradually a well informed public discerns the revealed weaknesses of the troops: the armed strength is often ridiculous, as it is dispersed amongst a large number of individual units; war-time formation is embryonic; the incessant shifting around of men and things inevitably results in miserably looking uniforms, sorry looking structures, and despondent teams. The masses feel that not all is well in the army's ranks. Behind the obscuring drabness, the army loses its glamour.

Hence, world tendencies, the conditions for world's international organization and, indeed our own obligations to help the weak and sustain the state order, all demand the formation of a professional army.

Practical implementation of the principle of an armed nation, while furnishing an inexhaustible source of human material, leads to wastefulness; on the other hand, it multiplies the losses in the fighting due to inexperience. *A professional army of restricted numbers,*

which moreover is hard to restore, induces thriftiness. If in this fashion the evolution giving increasing sway to professional armies eventually results in the more or less full replacement of fierce clashes between armed masses by well-ordered engagements, that would spell an invaluable blessing for the human race generally. *No struggle is bloodier than the conflict between armed nations.*

Naturally, all fighting men must be young. Professional units should not labour under anything from which it is hard to escape, such as habits, family ties and diverse interests. On the other hand, the personnel should be retained on active service for a long enough time, for their technical instruction and moral education become complete, yet not long enough to allow this skill to degenerate into routine. It would be enough for 20-year-old volunteers to thus serve and six years later, while still in the height of their powers they could instruct reserves and recruits.

Defence is laborious day-to-day work, wich only the well educated can do

Service in a professional army firstly fully gratifies a love of wonderfully intricate mechanisms. It may be confidently stated that the prospect of dealing with up-to-date sophisticated machines alone will already attract volunteers. A professional army as a model modern factory with thousands of precise, fast, well integrated and skillfully operated machines will undoubtedly excite a lively interest among our younger generation and impart the prestige with which sophisticated intricate machinery endows the servicing personnel.

To train commanding officers to lead troops over the foreseeable future, that will be sharply at variance with the cumbersome masses of the world war, modification of the system of officer training is inevitable. Such officers, instead of deriving inspiration chiefly from what has been learned as integrated doctrines under due supervision, should strive to develop their personality and individuality.

Without profundity of imagination, synthetic ability and confident judgement, professional knowledge is useless when all possessing its elements promote them in their military application alone. A fertile mind requires diversity which is not found in the exclusive habits of some definite calling. *A general cultural standard represents true schooling for a commanding officer.* There was not a single celebrated captain who would not have drawn skill from the treasure troves of the human intellect. At the root of the victories Alexander the Great won we always discern the mind of Aristotle.

Whereas daily exercise and education suffice for most of the human race, exceptional characters form of their own accord. That is why in tragic times, when the whirlwinds of history seep away conventiality and custom, they alone stand on their feet and because of this, they are indispensable. Nothing could be more important for a state than to retain within the army these exceptional individuals, who in a crisis comprise its sole support and refuge.

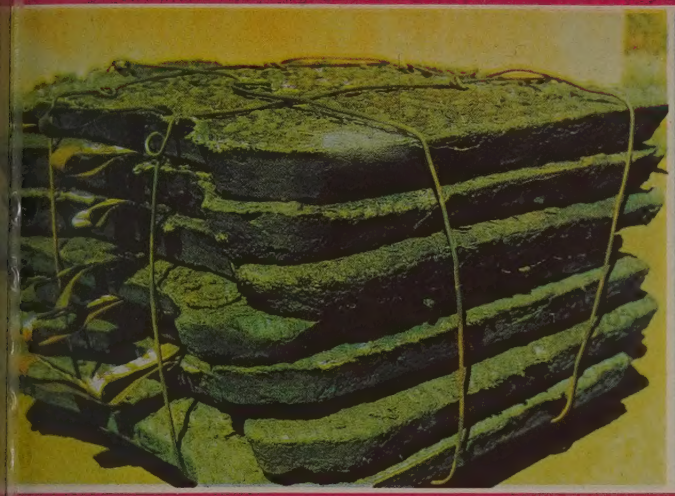
Therein, incidentally, lies one of the reasons which makes the soldier absolutely sure of military prospects.

In an army, wherein independent action is the rule, each officer will need to make many decisions of a kind that were never dealt with in previous wars. It will be absolutely impossible to go no further than literal execution: before starting out it will be necessary to take counsel with one's superiors and to coordinate actions with one's neighbours. Initiative, which army regulation always praises, but which is mistrusted in orders of the day, will again come into its own. Properties so revered at lower levels but instilling fear at the top will again assume full glory and grandeur on the battlefield. Further, we shall see revived in a professional army that familiarity between officers and men which the mass system distorted. The transient masses, whose ranks were replenished after each hecatomb, could scarcely have any particular liking for generals, seen but once or twice and who sent them to die via retyped orders of the day.

Although the proper organization of a well equipped army of volunteers is essential and is in full accord with the tendencies of present evolution, it nevertheless comprises a reform of extraordinary scope. It will modify the very spirit as well as the politics and techniques of warfare. The innovation will not be painless for the army and hence can be anticipated only if a powerful authority exerts influence.

For a professional army to come about tomorrow, for it to have a new spirit in its new body, without which it would be "useless," it is necessary to see a leader of independent judgement that comes forth, whose orders would not be refuted and who would enjoy public trust. Such a man should have only the interests of the state in mind. He must be unbiased, not seek adulation, be fully absorbed in projects encompassing quite a goodly period of time and always be in the know as to the men and things of use to his cause. He must be a chief, who is flesh of the flesh of his army, who is devoted to his subordinates, and who eagerly seeks responsibility; he must be strong enough to rule others, yet skillfull enough to captivate them. He must be of adequatly large stature for great things. Such should be the minister, the soldier, or the politician to whom the fatherland will be indebted for the future husbanding of its resources.

Publication of excerpts from Charles de Gaulle's "For a Professional Army" prepared by Alexander Savinkin



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